Perspectives on ageing in place

Lager, Deborah

Perspectives on ageing in place

Older adults' experiences of everyday life in urban neighbourhoods

Debbie Lager

ISBN: 978-90-367-8037-7
ISBN (E-publication): 978-90-367-8036-0

English language editing: Giles Stacey, Englishworks (Chapters 1, 5 and 6);
Gina Rozario, Cowrite (Chapters 2, 3 and 4).
Dutch language editing: Wietske Wilts, www.wietskewilts.nl
Cover design: Caro Turlings, www.carografischontwerp.nl
Lay-out: P.J. Karsijns Vormgeving en Cartografie
Printed by: Gildeprint – www.gildeprint.nl

rijksuniversiteit groningen

Perspectives on ageing in place

Older adults' experiences of everyday life in urban neighbourhoods

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
op gezag van de
rector magnificus prof. dr. E. Sterken
en volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties.

De openbare verdediging zal plaatsvinden op

donderdag 1 oktober 2015 om 14.30 uur

door

Deborah Rebecca Lager
geboren op 22 januari 1985

te Groningen

Promotor
Prof. dr. P.P.P. Huigen

Copromotor
Dr. B. van Hoven

Beoordelingscommissie
Prof. dr. ir. G.R.W. de Kam
Prof. dr. S. Otten
Prof. dr. J.E. Phillips

To bobba.

Table of contents

Four chapters included in this PhD dissertation are reprinted from the following publications and manuscripts:

Chapter 2

Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Huigen, P.P.P., 2013. Dealing with change in old age: negotiating working-class belonging in a neighbourhood in the process of urban renewal in the Netherlands. Geoforum 50, 54-61.

Chapter 3

Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Huigen, P.P.P., 2015. Understanding older adults' social capital in place: Obstacles to and opportunities for social contacts in the neighbourhood. Geoforum 59, 87-97.

Chapter 4

Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Huigen, P.P.P, Exploring the subjective dimensions of older adults' use of neighbourhood space through walking interviews.
Subject to revisions by an international peer-reviewed journal.

Chapter 5

Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Huigen, P.P.P, Rhythms, ageing and neighbourhoods.
Submitted to an international peer-reviewed journal.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Motivation for this study

'*Whose help? Everyone is working*' (Ramesar, 2012).

This is the headline from a Dutch newspaper article on the consequences of budget cuts on domestic help for older people who are living in their own home and neighbourhood (i.e. 'ageing in place'). An 86-year-old woman, Ms. Van Esveld, who was being interviewed for this article expressed her worries regarding who would provide practical support now that the time the domestic worker had to clean her house would be reduced from 3.5 hours to 30 minutes a week. She worried about needing to move to a care home as she could not always rely on her children and grandchildren for help as they were busy working, as were her neighbours. Although she valued living in her own home, she missed a sense of conviviality in the immediate locality as her younger neighbours were seldom around. This woman's story casts light on the subjective dimensions of ageing in place. The Dutch government, as have many other Western governments, has implemented ageing in place policies in order to postpone and decrease expensive institutionalised care (Wiles et al., 2012). These policies are promoted by stressing that growing old in one's own home and neighbourhood is in the best interests of older adults as they can then age within a familiar and predictable environment that is supportive of their social, emotional and instrumental needs (Davies and James, 2011; Milligan, 2009). In both research and policy, it is generally assumed that older adults prefer to age in place as the number of home moves in later life declines with increasing age and older people are also less inclined to consider moving than younger adults (PBL, 2013; Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Ogg, 2014). Aging in place can help in preserving a sense of independence, identity, social embeddedness and emotional attachment with the home and community, thereby conferring wellbeing (e.g. Cutchin, 2003; Wiles et al., 2012,). However, as the newspaper article suggests, "the reality [of ageing in place] is not straightforward" (Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 2008, p. 219) as austerity measures and constraints on younger people's time in providing support can impede the supposed benefits of ageing in one's familiar surroundings. This thesis provides a critical perspective of ageing in place through highlighting older adults' experiences of everyday life in urban neighbourhoods.

Ageing has a "nascent profile" within the field of human geography (Skinner et al., 2014, p. 1). Schwanen et al. noted that geographers used to show interest in the spatialities of later life, but "over the past 15 years or so the balance has tipped towards the study of childhood" (2012a, p. 1). They call for a more sustained engagement with ageing and old age in human geography and list several reasons for this. One is the shift in Western societies towards ageing in place and care in the community, where the organisation of social support, housing and care for older people is increasingly transferred

from the public domain to the private domain in the form of family, friends, neighbours and older adults themselves (Schwanen et al., 2012a). Given these "significant changes in landscapes of care" (Schwanen et al., 2012a, p. 2) and their potential consequences for older adults' quality of life, the subjective dimensions of ageing in place deserve closer scrutiny. In this thesis, older adults' experiences are viewed as an outcome of the complex and dynamic interplay of self, others, place and time. This relational approach emphasises that older adults' experiences are "entwined becomings" (Schwanen et al., 2012a, p. 4, see also: Andrews et al., 2012; Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Skinner et al., 2014). In this thesis, this approach is adopted as it does not position older adults' experiences as merely idiosyncratic, but frames them in a broader perspective: showing how various elements, including the built environment, public policies and societal perceptions of old age, play a role in their engagement with place.

The aim of this thesis is to provide an understanding of the elements that play a role in the subjective dimensions of ageing in place. In particular, the focus is on the neighbourhood as a place of ageing. The starting point of the analysis is a set of in-depth interviews and walks that were conducted with older adults in their homes and neighbourhoods in the city of Groningen in the Netherlands. In deepening understanding of older adults' engagement with place, this thesis concentrates on exploring the elements that influence *how* older adults experience everyday life in their neighbourhood, rather than the advantages or disadvantages of ageing in certain types of urban neighbourhoods. In so doing, this thesis addresses various themes regarding older adults' engagement with place: the discontinuities of ageing in place in relation to neighbourhood transitions (Chapter 2); the meaning of local social contacts (Chapter 3); everyday practices (Chapters 2 and 4); and the daily temporal orderings of ageing in place (Chapter 5). Together, these chapters advance the conceptualisation of the notion of ageing in place.

Not only does this thesis contribute to research within the 'geographies of ageing' (see Skinner et al., 2014), it also provides input for policy. Since the World Health Organization launched the Global Age-Friendly Cities guide (WHO, 2007), there has been an increase in the number of policy agendas that stress the importance of making the physical and social infrastructure of cities and neighbourhoods 'age-friendly' in order to contribute to the active and healthy ageing of older adults and to let them live independently for as long as possible. The recent launch of the European thematic network of innovation for age-friendly environments (AFE-INNOVNET, 2014) shows a range of stakeholders committed to improving older adults' quality of life across Europe. The chapters of this thesis discuss issues relevant to public policy and planning practice in realising such age-friendly environments, namely: the impact of neighbourhood renewal on older adults' sense of belonging (Chapter 2); social, physical and temporal obstacles to and opportunities for local social interactions and informal support (Chapters 3 and 5); and the

walkability of the neighbourhood for older residents (Chapter 4). In broad terms, these issues relate to the policy domains of neighbourhood change, care in the community, mobility and the social integration of older adults.

In the remainder of this chapter, a background to the study is first provided by discussing the importance of the neighbourhood as a place of ageing. Then, how relational thinking informs the way in which older adults' experiences of everyday life are interpreted in this thesis is discussed. Next, the policy context of ageing in place in the Netherlands, the research methods and the context, and the aim and outline of the thesis are addressed.

1.2 The neighbourhood as an important place of ageing

The focus in this thesis is on older adults' experiences of everyday life in urban neighbourhoods. As a result of ageing in place policies, there is an increased interest in the past decade or so in the neighbourhood as a place of ageing from a variety of disciplines, such as social and environmental gerontology (e.g. Buffel et al., 2013; Peace et al., 2006; Phillipson et al., 1999), health studies (e.g. Cramm et al., 2013; Day, 2008; Gardner, 2011; Walker and Hiller, 2007) and transport and planning studies (e.g. Banister and Bowling, 2004; Gilroy, 2008; Hockey et al., 2013). This research emphasises that the neighbourhood, as a physical and social place of ageing, is more important for older adults' wellbeing than for younger and employed people (Buffel et al., 2012). In this section, a brief overview is provided of the main explanations for the apparent importance of the neighbourhood for older adults.

Generally, older adults spend more time in their locality than their younger and employed counterparts (Buffel et al., 2012). To an extent, this has to do with retirement, which marks a shift from the workplace to the residential environment (Hagestad and Uhlenberg, 2005). Further, decreasing physical mobility and diminishing health can limit the time and energy available to engage in "demanding activities far from home" (Droogleever Fortuijn et al., 2006, p. 363). As older adults spend increasing amounts of time in their proximate environment, the neighbourhood, as an experiential setting, gains in importance. Local social contacts are important to older adults' wellbeing in terms of experiencing sociability in the public places of the neighbourhood (e.g. Gardner, 2011; Lager et al., 2012; Peace et al., 2006). With diminishing institutionalised resources and older adults' diminishing levels of independence, these local social contacts can become particularly important in securing social, emotional and instrumental support (Buffel et al., 2012). In the past five decades or so, friends and neighbours have taken a more prominent place in the social networks of older people, which were once dominated by family ties (Phillipson et al., 2001). This further increases the importance in older adults' everyday lives of the neighbourhood's social infrastructure.

The extent to which support is received is related to older adults' social embeddedness in their neighbourhood: people need to know each other in order to identify when an older person is in need of support (Droogleever Fortuijn, 2010). Social embeddedness comes into being through extensive periods of living in a neighbourhood (Gardner, 2011). Residential stability may result in a strong place attachment to the locality, an aspect that is of particular importance in older adults' wellbeing. Place attachment stems from a person's physical, social and autobiographical 'insideness' (Rowles, 1983). This 'insideness', or familiarity with a place, results from spatial routines and habits (physical), integration in local social networks (social) and the remembrance of events that develops through length of residence (autobiographical) (Rowles, 1983). Familiarity with the materiality of a neighbourhood can be beneficial in carrying out activities of daily living, such as grocery shopping, when physical and/or cognitive functions decrease in later life. This, in turn, can confer a sense of safety, control and independence (Buffel et al., 2012; Wiles et al., 2012). Place attachment has a functional dimension as well as an affective dimension. Experiences and feelings about the home and the neighbourhood can produce an emotional attachment to these places. This attachment can serve as a means to keep memories of the life course alive, thereby contributing to maintaining a sense of continuity of the self (Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992).

Urban neighbourhoods can pose both advantages and challenges with regard to older adults' wellbeing (Phillipson, 2014). On the one hand, urban environments can "produce advantages for older people in respect of access, to specialized medical services, provision of cultural and leisure facilities, and necessities for daily living" (Phillipson, 2014, p. 1). This variation in places can bring about a range of positive emotions, such as relaxation, invigoration and excitement (Negrini, 2015). On the other hand, research on ageing in changing and deprived neighbourhoods has shown how urban environments can confer environmental stress and contribute to older adults' social exclusion (e.g. Scharf et al., 2005; Van der Meer et al., 2008). In particular, this can jeopardise the wellbeing of older adults who lack the financial means to venture or move beyond the neighbourhood and thereby get 'stuck' in these places (Phillipson, 2007).

The literature cited above establishes the neighbourhood as an important place of ageing. Nevertheless, some authors have suggested that this may not be the case for all older people. According to Phillipson (2007, p. 327), global developments, such as the emergence of transnational communities, have resulted in "a more mobile form of social ageing" in which older people have a larger array of places available from which they can draw a sense of belonging and wellbeing. In a similar vein, Milligan (2009) noted that the nature of place attachment may change for future generations of older people since their working lives are marked by a greater residential mobility than those of current generations (see also Rowles, 1983). The importance of the neighbourhood as a social place in

older adults' wellbeing may also diminish because ICTs allow social interactions to take place beyond the locality (Means and Evans, 2011; Milligan, 2009).

1.3 The co-creation of older adults' experiences

This thesis, in examining the elements that influence how older adults' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood come into being, adopts a relational approach. Whereas traditional geographic perspectives on ageing understand experiences of place as "happening" to older people, a relational approach stresses how these experiences are "co-created by older people, other bodies, and objects" (Skinner et al., 2014, p. 14). In a relational approach, research on the relationship between ageing and place has shown that older adults also possess agency in the ways in which they experience and make use of neighbourhood space. Several authors have emphasised older adults' place-making 'ability' in relation to neighbourhood change and life in deprived urban neighbourhoods (e.g. Rowles, 1978; Rowles and Watkins, 2003; Smith, 2009; Wiles et al., 2012). These studies highlight that older people are not necessarily 'passive victims' of problematic and changing environments, but that they can draw a sense of belonging from these places and experience safety and sociability (see also Buffel et al., 2013). However, as such research mainly focuses on individual agency, little is known about, for instance, how other people are involved in the co-creation of older adults' experiences. In this thesis, in seeking to understand what elements are involved in this co-creation, older respondents' experiences of everyday life in urban neighbourhoods are viewed from the perspective of everyday life.

In everyday life, societal structures and individual agency come together in the ways in which people go about and experience the day-to-day (Eyles, 1989). From everyday life "we derive a sense of self, of identity, as living a real and meaningful biography" and, as Eyles argued, it is therefore "crucial for understanding human life and society" (1989, p. 103). To date, little is known about how older adults' experiences of the everyday relate to the broader context of societal structures. However, recently, in *Geoforum's* themed issue on the spatialities of ageing (see Schwanen et al., 2012a), attention was paid to how various aspects of the everyday, such as mobile phone use, social participation in the neighbourhood and personal mobility (see, respectively: Hardill and Olphert, 2012; Ziegler, 2012; Schwanen et al., 2012b) are experienced by older adults, and how these experiences are co-constructed by societal norms and values. For instance, Schwanen et al. (2012b, p. 1314) showed how older adults' positive connotations with self-reliance and unaided functioning relates to the Anglo-American "ideal of the autonomous, self-actualising individual".

To disentangle the 'entwined becomings' of older adults' experiences (Schwanen et al., 2012a) requires attention to 'place' and 'time' as organising principles

of everyday life (Eyles, 1989). Places are not simply backdrops to social life but processes that acquire meaning through everyday interactions between people and their environment (Cresswell, 2004). As such, places can be considered as social constructs in which people recognise social norms and values, and hold perceptions of particular groups of residents. Laws (1997) argued that residential environments communicate how society perceives older people whilst, at the same time, these environments come into being through these perceptions. For instance, Laws (1997) showed how the passage of the Social Security Act in the US at the beginning of the 20th century changed societal perceptions of old age, that used to be viewed as marked by disease and poverty, to one where older people were seen as deserving and respectable. This change was accompanied by a boom in the construction of private homes for the elderly that offered a more 'home-like' atmosphere than alms houses (Laws, 1997). This example shows how older adults' 'place' in society is construed both in discourses and the built environment. In the current era, older people's place in society has shifted from age-segregated places, such as care homes, to ageing in place. This shift has been accompanied by neo-liberal-informed 'active ageing' discourses, in which older people are seen as subjects desiring an active role in society (Schwanen and Ziegler, 2011). In seeking to understand how older adults' experiences are co-created, the neighbourhood should be considered in terms of the messages it communicates about older people's 'place' in society. Here, 'time' should also be into account (Eyles, 1989; Schwanen et al., 2012a). Traditionally, time has been regarded as a component of older adults' attachment to place, in the sense that familiarity establishes itself through length of residence in a community (see Cutchin, 2001; Rowles, 1978, 1983). However, 'time' can also be understood in terms of people's daily rhythms. This can be illustrated through the newspaper article which was mentioned in Section 1.1. There, Ms. van Esveld spent most of the time in her home and locality, whilst her neighbours were seldom around as they were in their places of work. As a result of these different time-space routines, Ms. van Esveld lacked a sense of conviviality in her locality. In this thesis, the focus will be on the role of these daily temporal orderings of ageing in place in understanding older adults' experiences of everyday life (see Chapters 3 and 5).

1.4 Ageing in place in the Netherlands

The research for this thesis was conducted in the Netherlands and the respondents' experiences must be considered within the context of the country's ageing in place policies. Davies and James (2011, p. 111) noted that there is nothing new about ageing in one's own home and neighbourhood, but that "the worldwide adaptation of ageing in place as a guiding principle for managing ageing populations" is a more recent phenomenon. In the Netherlands, the foundations for ageing in place were already laid in the 1970s in

national policy regarding the older population. After World War II, in order to solve the shortage of housing for young couples with children, older people were encouraged to move to homes for the elderly (Van Egdom, 1997; Van Den Heuvel, 1997). As the number of homes built, and older people living in these homes grew, the government became concerned about the increasing costs of this policy and tighter criteria for admission to homes for the elderly were developed to stimulate ageing in place (Van Egdom, 1997; Van Den Heuvel, 1997). From the 1980s onwards, ageing in place was further stimulated by a reduction in the number of places in homes for the elderly despite the ageing population (Van Den Heuvel, 1997). In 2013, the process of '*extramuralisering'* (deinstitutionalisation) was set in motion entailing even stricter admission criteria: people who were previously entitled to move into a care home now had to receive care in the community (PBL, 2013).

Care in the community should be considered in conjunction with the transition from a welfare state to *participatiesamenleving* (the Dutch equivalent of civil society) (Companje, 2013). In terms of policies for the older population, this process was already visible in the 1980s in policy memoranda in which older adults' responsibility in organising care and housing and in healthy ageing were emphasised (Van Den Heuvel, 1997). The implementation of the Social Support Act (Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning, WMO) in 2007 has further stimulated the shift from governmental to greater individual and community responsibility in the organisation of social support, housing and care (Jager-Vreugdenhil, 2012, see also Chapter 3). The Act's emphasis on individual self-reliance and civil society assumes that people will first address their social network before seeking professional support and care, and that neighbourhoods will act as supportive communities to their older and vulnerable residents (Jager-Vreugdenhil, 2012). Further, this act transferred the responsibility for health and social care services from the national government to regional and local authorities. In addition to being a means to contain costs, an idea behind this decentralisation was that regional and local authorities were better at responding to residents' needs (Broersma et al., 2013). This latter aspect has also recently been emphasised in the 'Transition Agenda for Longer Independent Living' by the Minister of Housing and the Central Government Sector and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport (see Blok and Van Rijn, 2014). Local authorities, together with housing corporations and healthcare services, are now responsible for devising ageing in place strategies.

The shift towards ageing in place and care in the community has spatial implications in terms of housing, infrastructure and service demand and delivery (Davies and James, 2011). In the Social Support Act, as well in the Transition Agenda for Longer Independent Living, emphasis is placed on the neighbourhood, as demarcated by administrative boundaries, for implementing ageing in place strategies. In several Dutch munici-

palities, integrated service areas (ISAs) have been developed in which service provision and age-adapted housing are concentrated in a village or neighbourhood (see De Kam et al., 2012). These ISAs are supposed to facilitate independent living and enhance older adults' quality of life (De Kam et al., 2012). However, as these policy developments are recent, local and regional authorities, housing corporations and healthcare service are still adjusting to their new roles and responsibilities (RLI, 2014). Given that the pathways towards managing ageing in place have yet to be stipulated, it is a timely moment to consider how older adults experience everyday life in their neighbourhood. These 'realities' of ageing in place can inform policymakers in giving shape to ageing in place agendas.

1.5 Researching ageing in place

To explore the subjective dimensions of ageing in place, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted in the homes of the respondents and walking interviews in the neighbourhood. The aim of the in-depth interviews was to elicit experiences, feelings and memories of everyday life in the neighbourhood.

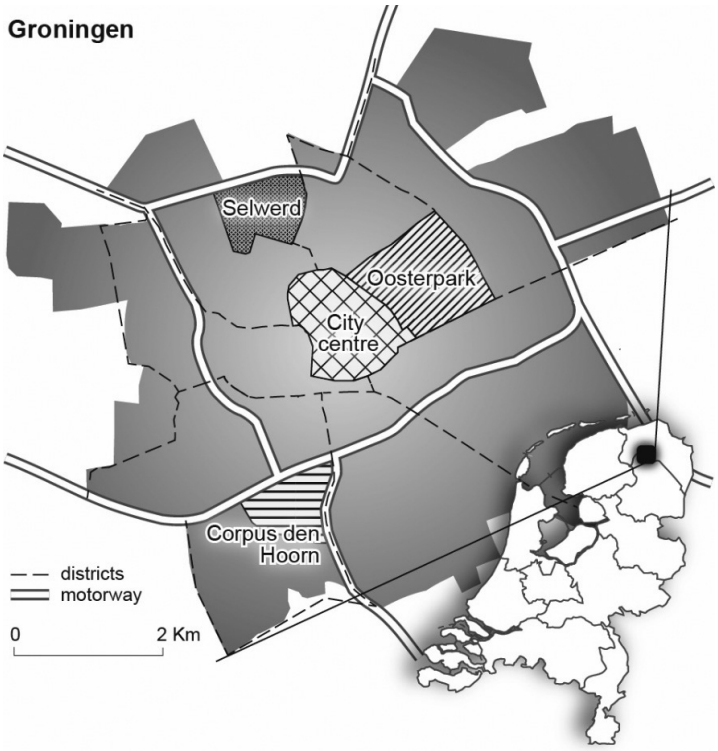

Figure 1 The city of Groningen: the city centre and the three neighbourhoods in which fieldwork was conducted are indicated (Tamara Kaspers)

The walking interviews were carried out to gain a deeper and more detailed understanding of the respondents' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood (e.g. Kusenbach, 2003). Walking is an important mode of mobility for older adults living in urban neighbourhoods (e.g. Banister and Bowling, 2004; Fobker and Grotz, 2006), and so walking interviews are particularly useful for exploring the everyday experiences and use of a place (see Chapter 4 for an elaborated description of this method).

The semi-structured interviews and the walking interviews were conducted with 53 older adults in 2010, 2012 and 2013. In selecting and recruiting participants, the Dutch retirement age of the time (65) was chosen as the threshold as it acts as a societal marker in 'defining' older adults and, from this age on, people are generally likely to spend more time in their home and neighbourhood. Data collection took place in three neighbourhoods in Groningen, a city in the northern part of the Netherlands (see Figure 1). The various themes regarding older adults' engagement with place discussed in this thesis emerged during the course of the data collection through the interplay of the respondents' stories, existing theory and literature and public debates concerning ageing in place. To explore the discontinuities of ageing in place, interviews were conducted with 13 older adults in the Oosterpark neighbourhood, an area undergoing urban renewal, in 2012 (for a detailed description of the research context see Chapter 2). In developing a geographical account of older adults' social capital, interviews were conducted in 2013 with 17 older adults in Corpus den Hoorn, a neighbourhood that was originally designed to encourage social interactions among neighbourhood residents (for a detailed description of this research context, see Chapter 3). To gain deeper and more detailed understandings of how the interviewees in the Oosterpark and Corpus den Hoorn districts related to their neighbourhoods, follow-up walking interviews were conducted with twelve of the respondents. In the Selwerd neighbourhood, 23 in-depth interviews were conducted with older adults in 2010. This neighbourhood is known for its rapid residential turnover and studentification. In exploring the daily temporal orderings of ageing in place, Chapter 5 draws on the analysis of the interviews in all three neighbourhoods.

The conclusions drawn in this thesis regarding older adults' experiences of everyday life should be situated within the context of the research encounter between me, a young female early-career researcher, and the older interviewees. Age is a relational construction that is negotiated in everyday practices and places (Hopkins and Pain, 2007) and, as such, age is produced in the research encounter (Tarrant, 2014). In considering intergenerational interviewing, Grenier (2007, p. 719) noted that "the ways in which people perform age and interact based on age-based assumptions and/or social-cultural norms" impacts on the research process. For a relatively young interviewer, this may concern shying away from questions that are deemed inappropriate for discussing with

older people (e.g. sexuality) and for the older interviewee this can involve adopting the role of a grandparent when engaging with the interviewer (Tarrant, 2014). It is important to be aware of age-based assumptions and roles in order to avoid reproducing ageist stereotypes of older people when interpreting and disseminating the research outcomes. Ageist stereotypes can powerfully affect how older people are treated (directly by other people and indirectly through public policies), how they behave and, consequentially, their health and wellbeing (Levy, 2009). In the conclusions of this thesis (Chapter 6), I reflect further on the meaning of the intergenerational research encounter in relation to the knowledge produced about the subjective dimensions of ageing in place.

1.6 Research aim and thesis outline

The aim of this thesis is to provide an understanding of the elements that play a role in the subjective dimensions of ageing in place. In particular, the focus is on the neighbourhood as a place of ageing. This study's focus on the neighbourhood can be viewed in light of current ageing in place policies and a growing body of research that stresses the importance of the physical and social infrastructure of the neighbourhood for older adults' quality of life.

This thesis highlights various themes concerning older adults' engagement with their neighbourhood: the discontinuities of ageing in place in relation to neighbourhood transitions (Chapter 2); the meaning of local social contacts (Chapter 3); everyday practices (Chapters 2 and 4); and the daily temporal orderings of ageing in place (Chapter 5). The individual studies conducted for these chapters are all embedded in the policy context of ageing in place in the Netherlands. In linking this research to this context and to influencing the policy discourse, these studies involve issues and concepts that have meaning beyond the academic world. These include the impact of neighbourhood renewal on older adults' sense of belonging (Chapter 2), social, physical and temporal obstacles to and opportunities for local social interactions and support (Chapters 3 and 5) and the walkability of the neighbourhood for older residents (Chapter 4).

Chapter 2 challenges the presumption, inherent in ageing in place policies, that growing old in one's own home and neighbourhood provides a sense of familiarity and predictability. Here, this chapter draws attention to the discontinuities in ageing in place by examining the impacts of neighbourhood transitions on older adults' sense of belonging. The analysis focuses on how, in everyday life, older adults negotiate belonging to a former working-class neighbourhood in the process of urban renewal. It discusses how a working-class belonging and a sense of continuity through neighbourhood change are practiced in everyday neighbourhood interactions.

In **Chapter 3**, the concept of social capital is discussed in order to understand the meanings of, opportunities for and obstacles to older adults' social contacts in their

neighbourhood. Social capital is a popular concept in research and policy, and has been used to stress the value of social contacts for the health and wellbeing of older adults. This chapter examines how social capital comes into being on the neighbourhood scale in the everyday lives of older adults. It discusses the role of the built environment, body capital and time geographies of both older and younger residents in the development of social capital.

The methodology used and knowledge that was produced through carrying out walking interviews are addressed in **Chapter 4**. In this chapter, the practiced dimension of ageing in place is discussed by viewing the act of walking as a means of place making. It examines how this place making occurs through routes, and how these routes inform on older adults' various engagements with place.

Chapter 5 builds on the understanding of the daily temporal orderings of ageing in place, a theme that emerged from studying older adults' social capital in Chapter 3. It discusses how a greater knowledge of these everyday temporalities can enhance understanding of how older adults experience daily life in their neighbourhood. To this end, the rhythmic orderings of older adults' everyday lives and the ways in which these rhythms affect their sense of time are examined.

Finally, **Chapter 6** presents an overview of the main findings from Chapters 2 to 5. This chapter also reflects on issues related to researching ageing in place and suggests directions for future research.

References

Andrews, G.J., Evans, J., Wiles, J.L., 2012. Re-spacing and re-placing gerontology: relationality and affect. Ageing & Society FirstView, 1-35.

Banister, D., Bowling, A., 2004. Quality of life for the elderly: the transport dimension. Transport Policy 11 (2), 105-115.

Blok, S.A., Van Rijn, M.J., 2014. Transitieagenda Langer zelfstandig wonen [Transition agenda Longer independent living] 32847-121. Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, Den Haag.

Broersma, L., Edzes, A.J.E., van Dijk, J., 2013. Have Dutch municipalities become more efficient in managing the costs of social assistance dependency?. Journal of Regional Science 53 (2), 274-291.

Buffel, T., Phillipson, C., Scharf, T., 2013. Experiences of neighbourhood exclusion and inclusion among older people living in deprived inner-city areas in Belgium and England. Ageing & Society 33 (1), 89-109.

Buffel, T., Verté, D., De Donder, L., De Witte, N., Dury, S., Vanwing, T., Bolsenbroek, A., 2012. Theorising the relationship between older people and their immediate social living environment. International Journal of Lifelong Education 31 (1), 13-32.

Companje, K., 2013. Hervorming van langdurige zorg: van verzorgingsstaat naar participatiesamenleving. Tijdschrift voor gezondheidswetenschappen 91 (8), 453-454.

Cramm, J.M., van Dijk, H.M., Nieboer, A.P., 2013. The Importance of Neighborhood Social Cohesion and Social Capital for the Well Being of Older Adults in the Community. The Gerontologist 53 (1), 142-152.

Cresswell, T., 2004. Place: a short introduction. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.

Cutchin, M.P., 2001. Deweyan Integration: Moving Beyond Place Attachment in Elderly Migration Theory. The International Journal of Aging and Human Development 52 (1), 29-44.

Cutchin, M.P., 2003. The process of mediated aging-in-place: a theoretically and empirically based model. Social science & medicine 57 (6), 1077-1090.

Davies, A., James, A., 2011. Geographies of Ageing. Social Processes and the Spatial Unevenness of Population Ageing. Ashgate, Farnham.

Day, R., 2008. Local environments and older people's health: Dimensions from a comparative qualitative study in Scotland. Health & place 14 (2), 299-312.

De Kam, G., Damoiseaux, D., Dorland, L., Pijpers, R., Van Biene, M., Jansen, E., Slaets, J., 2012. Kwetsbaar en zelfstandig. Een onderzoek naar de effecten van woonservicegebieden voor ouderen [Vulnerable and independent. A research about the effects of integrated service areas for older people]. Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen.

Droogleever Fortuijn, J., 2010. The challenges of ageing: towards an inclusive perspective. In: Kovacs, Z. (Ed.) Challenges of ageing in villages and cities: the Central European Experience, pp. 11-23.

Droogleever Fortuijn, J., van der Meer, M., Burholt, V., Ferring, D., Quattrini, S., Hallberg, I.R., Weber, G., Wenger, G.C., 2006. The activity patterns of older adults: a cross-sectional study in six European countries. Population, Space and Place 12 (5), 353-369.

Duff, C., 2010. On the role of affect and practice in the production of place. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 28 (5), 881-895.

Eyles, J., 1989. The Geography of Everyday Life. In: Gregory, D., Walford, R. (Eds.) Horizons in Human Geography. Macmillan Education Ltd, London, pp. 102-117.

Fobker, S., Grotz, R., 2006. Everyday Mobility of Elderly People in Different Urban Settings: The Example of the City of Bonn, Germany. Urban Studies 43 (1), 99-118.

Gardner, P.J., 2011. Natural neighborhood networks — Important social networks in the lives of older adults aging in place. Journal of Aging Studies 25 (3), 263-271.

Gilroy, R., 2008. Places that Support Human Flourishing: Lessons from Later Life. Planning Theory & Practice 9 (2), 145-163.

Grenier, A.M., 2007. Crossing Age and Generational Boundaries: Exploring Intergenerational Research Encounters. Journal of Social Issues 63 (4), 713-727.

Hagestad, G.O., Uhlenberg, P., 2005. The Social Separation of Old and Young: A Root of Ageism. Journal of Social Issues 61 (2), 343-360.

Hardill, I., Olphert, C.W., 2012. Staying connected: Exploring mobile phone use amongst older adults in the UK. Geoforum 43 (6), 1306-1312.

Highmore, B., 2002. Everyday Life and Cultural Theory. An Introduction. Routledge, London.

Hillcoat-Nallétamby, S., Ogg, J., 2014. Moving beyond 'ageing in place': older people's dislikes about their home and neighbourhood environments as a motive for wishing to move. Ageing & Society 34 (10), 1771-1796.

Hockey, A., Phillips, J., Walford, N., 2013. Planning for an Ageing Society: Voices from the Planning Profession. Planning Practice & Research 28 (5), 527-543.

Hopkins, P., Pain, R., 2007. Geographies of age: thinking relationally. Area 39 (3), 287-294.

Jager-Vreugdenhil, M., 2012. Nederland Participatieland? De ambitie van de Wet maatschappelijke ondersteuning (Wmo) en de praktijk in buurten, mantelzorgrelaties en kerken [The Netherlands, a participation country? The ambition of the Social Support Act and practice in neighbourhoods, caregiving relations and churches]. University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

Kusenbach, M., 2003. Street Phenomenology: The Go-Along as Ethnographic Research Tool. Ethnography 4 (3), 455-485.

Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Meijering, L., 2012. Places that matter: place attachment and wellbeing of older Antillean migrants in the Netherlands. European Spatial Research and Policy 19 (1), 81-94.

Laws, G., 1997. Spatiality and age relations. In: Jamieson, A., Harper, S., Victor, C.R. (Eds.) Critical approaches to ageing and later life. Open University Press, pp. 90-101.

Levy, B.R., 2009. Stereotype Embodiment: A Psychosocial Approach to Aging. Current Directions in Psychological Science 18, 332-336.

Milligan, C., 2009. There's No Place Like Home: Place and Care in an Ageing Society. Ashgate, Farnham.

Negrini, C., 2015. Ageing in the city: geographies of social interactions and everyday life. PhD Thesis, Kingston University London.

Peace, S.M., Holland, C., Kellaher, L., 2006. Environment and identity in later life. Open University Press, Maidenhead.

PBL, 2013. Vergrijzing en ruimte. Gevolgen voor de woningmarkt, vrijetijdsbesteding, mobiliteit en regionale economie [Population ageing and space. Consequences for the housing market, leisure, mobility and regional economy]. Planbureau voor de leefomgeving, Den Haag.

Phillips, D.R., Siu, O.-L, Yeh, A.G.-O., Cheng, K.H.C., 2005. Ageing and the urban environment. In: Andrews, G.J., Phillips, D.R. (Eds.) Ageing and place. Routledge, Oxon, pp. 147-163.

Phillipson, C., 2007. The 'elected' and the 'excluded': sociological perspectives on the experience of place and community in old age. Ageing & Society 27 (03), 321-342.

Phillipson, C., Bernard, M., Phillips, J., Ogg, J., 2001. The family and community life of older people. Routledge, London.

Phillipson, C., Bernard, M., Phillips, J., Ogg, J., 1999. Older people's experiences of community life: patterns of neighbouring in three urban areas. The Sociological review 47 (4), 715-743.

Phillipson, C., 2014. Developing Age-Friendly Urban Communities: Critical Issues for Public Policy. Public Policy & Aging Report, 1-5.

Ramesar, P., 2012. 'Hulp van wie? Iedereen werkt'. Trouw, 8 November.

RLI, 2014. Langer zelfstandig, een gedeelde opgave van wonen, zorg en welzijn [Independent for longer, a challenge of housing, care and wellbeing]. Raad voor de leefomgeving en infrastructuur, Den Haag.

Rowles, G.D., 1983. Place and personal identity in old age: Observations from Appalachia. Journal of Environmental Psychology 3 (4), 299-313.

Rowles, G.D., 1978. Prisoners of Space? Exploring the Geographical Experience of Older People. Westview Press, Colorado.

Rowles, G.D., Watkins, J.F., 2003. History, Habit, Heart and Hearth: On Making Spaces into Places. In: Warner Schaie, K., Wahl, H.-., Mollenkopf, H., Oswald, F. (Eds.) Aging Independently. Living Arrangements and Mobility. Springer Publishing Company, New York, pp. 77-96.

Rubinstein, R.L., Parmelee, P.A., 1992. Attachment to place and the representation of life course by the elderly. In: Altman, I., Low, S.M. (Eds.) Place attachment. Plenum Press, New York, pp. 139 - 163.

Scharf, T., Phillipson, C., Smith, A.E., 2005. Multiple Exclusion and Quality of Life amongst Excluded Older People in Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods. Social Exclusion Unit, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Stationery Office, London.

Schwanen, T., Hardill, I., Lucas, S., 2012a. Spatialities of ageing: The co-construction and co-evolution of old age and space. Geoforum 43 (6), 1291-1295.

Schwanen, T., Banister, D., Bowling, A., 2012b. Independence and mobility in later life. Geoforum 43 (6), 1313-1322.

Schwanen, T., Ziegler, F., 2011. Wellbeing, independence and mobility: an introduction. Ageing & Society 31 (05), 719.

Sixsmith, A., Sixsmith, J., 2008. Ageing in Place in the United Kingdom. Ageing International 32 (3), 219-235.

Skinner, M.W., Cloutier, D., Andrews, G.J., 2014. Geographies of ageing: Progress and possibilities after two decades of change. Progress in Human Geography.

Smith, A.E., 2009. Ageing in Urban Neighbourhoods. Place attachment and social exclusion. The Policy Press, Bristol.

Tarrant, A., 2014. Negotiating Multiple Positionalities in the Interview Setting: Researching Across Gender and Generational Boundaries. The Professional Geographer 66 (3), 493-500.

Van Den Heuvel, W., 1997. Policy towards the elderly: Twenty-five years of Dutch experience. Journal of Aging Studies 11 (3), 251-258.

Van der Meer, M., Droogleever Fortuijn, J., Thissen, F., 2008. Vulnerability and environmental stress of older adults in deprived neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie 99 (1), 53-64.

Van Egdom, G., 1997. Housing for the elderly in the Netherlands: A care problem. Ageing International 23 (3-4), 165-182.

Walker, R.B., Hiller, J.E., 2007. Places and health: A qualitative study to explore how older women living alone perceive the social and physical dimensions of their neighbourhoods. Social science & medicine 65 (6), 1154-1165.

WHO, 2007. Global age-friendly cities: a guide. World Health Organization, Geneva.

Wiles, J.L., Leibing, A., Guberman, N., Reeve, J., Allen, R.E.S., 2012. The Meaning of "Aging in Place" to Older People. The Gerontologist 52 (3), 357-366.

Wunderlich, F.M., 2008. Walking and Rhythmicity: Sensing Urban Space. Journal of Urban Design 13 (1), 125-139.

Ziegler, F., 2012. "You have to engage with life, or life will go away": An intersectional life course analysis of older women's social participation in a disadvantaged urban area. Geoforum 43 (6), 1296-1305.

Chapter 2

Dealing with change in old age: negotiating working-class belonging in a neighbourhood in the process of urban renewal in the Netherlands[1]

Abstract. 'Ageing in place' policies presuppose that growing old in one's own home and neighbourhood is in the best interests of older adults, as a familiar and predictable environment fosters autonomy and wellbeing in old age. However, discontinuities of place can challenge the relationship between older adults and their neighbourhood. This paper addresses the impact of neighbourhood transitions on older adults' sense of belonging in the Netherlands by exploring how they deal with changes in the neighbourhood in their everyday life. The context of this qualitative research is a former working-class neighbourhood in the process of urban renewal. Our findings show how a sense of belonging is negotiated in relation to everyday places and interactions within the neighbourhood, providing a sense of continuity despite neighbourhood change.

Keywords: ageing in place, older adults, neighbourhood transitions, belonging, relationality, the Netherlands.

[1] This chapter is reprinted from: Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Huigen, P.P.P., 2013. Dealing with change in old age: negotiating working-class belonging in a neighbourhood in the process of urban renewal in the Netherlands. Geoforum 50, 54-61.

2.1 Introduction

In response to the increasing costs of ageing societies, Western governments have implemented policies that foster 'ageing in place' (i.e. growing old in one's own home and neighbourhood) in order to postpone and decrease expensive institutionalised care (Wiles et al., 2012). Ageing in place policies presuppose that growing old in one's own home and community is in the best interests of older adults, as they can age within a familiar and predictable environment (Davies and James, 2011). Informal support and care, as well as knowledge of the physical neighbourhood, should enable older adults to maintain a sense of autonomy and wellbeing when health and mobility deteriorates (WHO, 2002). However, this idealised notion of ageing in place may not correspond to the everyday lives of community-dwelling older adults (Milligan, 2009). The urban sociologist Arnold Reijndorp (2007) has criticised ageing in place policies for not considering how neighbourhood transitions, such as population change and the upscaling of facilities, can transform urban neighbourhoods into unfamiliar environments. Not much is known about the meaning of neighbourhood transitions for older adults themselves. This paper draws attention to the discontinuities of ageing in place by examining the impact of neighbourhood transitions on retired older adults'[2] sense of belonging.

In the past decade, the neighbourhood as a context of ageing has received more attention from policymakers (Global Age-Friendly Cities guide by WHO, 2007) and researchers. Several authors in a wide range of disciplines have identified the important role of the neighbourhood in older adults' sense of belonging and wellbeing (see Gardner, 2011; Wiles et al., 2012). Local informal social networks, including neighbours, service personnel and people on the street, contribute to wellbeing in the everyday lives of older adults (e.g. Gardner, 2011; Peace et al., 2006; Russell, 2005; Van Hoven and Douma, 2012; Wiles et al., 2012). Recent research by Ziegler (2012) and Buffel et al. (2013) indicates how a changing neighbourhood can challenge older adults' sense of belonging and social relationships, thereby increasing the likelihood of social exclusion. However, studies focusing on the impact of neighbourhood transitions on older adults' everyday encounters and places remain scarce (Phillipson, 2010).

Social and physical transformations of place can challenge one's social and emotional connections with the neighbourhood, especially when these changes are rapid and intense (Jones and Evans, 2012). This can lead to feelings of disorientation, grief and alienation (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Fullilove, 1996; Hörschelmann

[2] In Dutch policy, the age at which people are labelled as 'older' depends on the policy area, for example, labour participation of older people concerns those aged 50-65 years, while in the care sector, older people are those aged 75+ years (Van Nimwegen and Van Praag, 2012). In the context of this research, we adopt the current retirement age (65+) to define older adults, since from this age onwards they are likely to spend more time in the home and neighbourhood. This may be especially the case for men who used to be the breadwinner of the family.

and Van Hoven, 2003). Neighbourhood transitions can be particularly challenging for older adults' sense of belonging as reduced mobility, decreasing health, and retirement heightens the importance of the neighbourhood as a central setting of experience (e.g. Phillips et al., 2005). Those who receive only a state pension[3] may be even more restricted to their locality since they lack the financial means to venture or move outside the neighbourhood, while more affluent older adults can choose their living environment by moving to retirement communities, for example (Phillipson, 2007). Less affluent older adults often live in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods. In the Netherlands, the social and physical character of many of these neighbourhoods is constantly and significantly transformed as a result of state-led urban renewal strategies. These strategies are aimed at improving the liveability of disadvantaged neighbourhoods in order to address urban problems such as crime and disturbance of public order (Uitermark et al., 2007). To achieve this, municipalities and housing associations attract middle-class households to the neighbourhood in order to 'civilize' its predominantly working-class residents (Uitermark et al., 2007, p. 138). A relatively high proportion of older adults in the Netherlands have lived their whole life in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (30% compared to 18% in non-deprived neighbourhoods) (Van der Meer et al., 2008). Those who have lived in the neighbourhood for a long time may have problems adapting to their changing surroundings as new norms and practices evolve, making them feel 'out of place' (Milligan et al., 2005; Rowles and Watkins, 2003). The rejection of local working-class values and segregation practices of the middle class may further threaten older residents' sense of belonging to the neighbourhood (Paton, 2009; Savage et al., 2005).

This paper investigates how retired older adults in an urban neighbourhood in Groningen, a city in the Northern Netherlands, experience and negotiate neighbourhood transitions in everyday life. This neighbourhood, the Oosterpark, is a former Dutch working-class neighbourhood that is in the process of urban renewal. First, we discuss how the relationship between ageing and place, and the way in which older adults deal with discontinuities of place, have so far been approached. We then examine a relational approach to ageing and place in an attempt to understand "the complex patterns of continuity and change [in] individuals' interactions with their social and physical environment" (Ziegler, 2012, p. 1). Next we introduce the research location, the qualitative data collection methods and the respondents. The analysis focuses on places and interactions through which the respondents negotiate a sense of continuity and belonging in everyday life.

[3] In the Netherlands in 2013, singles received a state pension of €1025 per month and cohabiting partners received €708 per person (SVB, 2013).

2.2 Place making in old age: functional and affective dimensions

The main understandings of the relationship between ageing and place were developed in the 1970s, in the fields of geography, and social and environmental gerontology (Andrews et al., 2009). This decade produced two strands of research, one in which the person-environment relationship was understood in functional terms, and one in which the experiential and affective bonds with places were stressed. The former is represented by the Ecological Theory of Ageing (ETA), developed by Lawton and colleagues (Lawton and Nahemow, 1973; Lawton, 1977). In ETA, the relationship between an ageing person and his/her environment is understood in functional terms (i.e. how places are helpful in engaging in everyday activities). Older adults' behaviour is explained as the outcome of personal competences (e.g. physical and mental health) and environmental press (aspects of the environment which can have a demanding character) (Lawton, 1977). An imbalance between competences and press results in a misfit between people and place which leads to maladaptive behaviour and negative affect. A recent example of work using ETA is a study by Van der Meer et al. (2008), who found that vulnerable older adults (those lacking personal and household resources) experienced more environmental stress in deprived neighbourhoods (where environmental press is high) than in non-deprived neighbourhoods.

In the second strand of research, in which the affective and experiential dimensions of the person-environment relationship are highlighted, Rowles' research (1978, 1983) takes centre stage. Rowles developed the concepts of social, physical and autobiographical 'insideness.' These result from the norms and rules of behaviour (social), spatial routines and habits (physical), and the remembrance of events that develop with place over time (autobiographical). The familiarity and sense of self that people derive from places contribute to the development of place attachments (i.e. affective bonds with places) (Altman and Low, 1992). In old age, place attachments provide a sense of continuity of identity, serving as a way to keep memories of the life course alive (Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992). Furthermore, familiarity, attachment and identity are thought to be especially important with regard to older adults, as they can relieve the negative impacts of physical and mental deterioration (Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992). Fullilove (1996) has argued that these three themes – familiarity, attachment and identity – are the main psychological processes that confer a sense of belonging, which in turn contributes to psychological wellbeing.

Recently, Smith (2009), in a qualitative study on ageing in deprived urban neighbourhoods in Canada and England, reconceptualised the person-environment relationship by merging ETA with place attachment. By doing so, older adults' behaviour in relation to place was explained by functional as well as affective motivations. This approach challenged the unidirectional relationship between personal competences and

environmental press. For instance, Smith found that although older adults experience strong environmental press, attachment to the neighbourhood can mitigate negative consequences of such an environmental press on their wellbeing. Furthermore, Smith highlighted the agency of older adults by showing how they are able to negotiate everyday life in a high-crime neighbourhood. The agency of older adults in dealing with discontinuities of place and self has also been stressed by Rowles and Watkins (2003), who talk about 'place making' practices that people can use in order to re-establish disrupted place attachments. In earlier work on the geographical experience of older adults in a deteriorating inner-city neighbourhood in the United States, Rowles (1978) noted that older adults intensify their feelings about certain spaces as a strategy for maintaining a sense of identity in a changing environment. However, Phillipson et al. (2001, p. 259) in their work on changes in the family and community life of older adults in three urban areas in the United Kingdom, indicated that, depending on the nature of change, such strategies may not always be successful: "Whatever this urban world had been designed for, it was not obviously anything that had older people in mind."

In addition to the nature of neighbourhood transitions, personal characteristics, experiences and histories also play a role in how older adults deal with discontinuities of place (Findlay and McLauglin, 2005). In a study on the experiences of housing renewal and forced relocation of older adults, for example, Ekstrom (1994) pointed out how role patterns established over the life course influenced whether an older person accepted or tried to influence their displacement process. And Peace et al. (2006, p. 66) noted that previous experiences of relocation inform older adults' capacity to deal with place changes. The meaning one associates with ageing can be another factor in how older adults deal with change (Findlay and McLauglin, 2005). The internalisation of ageist stereotypes (e.g. being a burden when using a walker) can prevent an older person from visiting busy places. However, place changes can also evoke positive emotions, as a new or changed place offers new opportunities for identity formation (Ekstrom, 1994; Peace et al., 2006; Speller et al., 2002).

The discussions cited above suggest that place making in old age needs to be understood through both functional and affective dimensions. However, in the above-mentioned accounts, people and place have been treated as separate entities that fit or do not fit together depending on whether older adults possess the competences to adapt to change (Ziegler, 2012). In the next section we will discuss and argue for a relational understanding of the person-environment relationship, which will throw light on the dynamics of interaction between older adults and the changing neighbourhood.

2.3 Dealing with neighbourhood transitions: towards a relational approach

Recently both geographers and gerontologists have begun to advocate the use of a relational approach which does more justice to the complex, dynamic nature of the relationship between older adults and place (see Andrews et al., 2012; Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Schwanen et al., 2012; Ziegler, 2012). This approach goes beyond the conceptualization of the person-environment relation in terms of 'fit' or adaption to place (Ziegler, 2012) by understanding people and places as being produced in relation to each other (Duff, 2010; Law, 1999). This means that older adults' experience and negotiation of neighbourhood transitions only come into being in their interaction with place. How a person experiences and negotiates change depends on which factors become relevant and intersect with the person-environment relationship (Hopkins and Pain, 2007). Ziegler (2012), who used a relational approach to examine the social participation of older women in a deprived neighbourhood in the United Kingdom, showed how social class, gender and age intersected with the way the research participants gave meaning to and negotiated their social interactions. In a similar vein, Van Hoven and Douma (2012) showed how feelings of being old and immobile are shaped within and can vary between everyday places and interactions in one village.

In order to understand how older adults experience and negotiate neighbourhood transitions from a relational perspective, Cutchin's model of place integration (2001) offers a useful starting point. This model emphasises how people's interaction with places are in constant flux and require ongoing negotiation in order to establish and maintain a sense of continuity and belonging. Discontinuities trigger thought and action, through which new meanings are created to re-establish a sense of continuity and belonging to place (Cutchin, 2001). Referring to Cutchin's place integration model, Wiles et al. (2012, p. 358) describe the process of ageing in place as follows:

> "It is a complex process, not merely about attachment to a particular home but where the older person is continually reintegrating with places and renegotiating meanings and identity in the face of dynamic landscapes of social, political, cultural, and personal change."

In this paper we will adopt the notion of ageing in place as proposed by Wiles et al. (2012) in order to explore how older adults make sense of and negotiate neighbourhood transitions in everyday life. To understand the specific neighbourhood changes which our respondents experience, we will first introduce the research location.

2.4 The Oosterpark: a former working-class neighbourhood in the process of urban renewal

The Oosterpark neighbourhood is located in Groningen, a city in the Northern Netherlands. In 2012 the Oosterpark had around 11,575 residents, 8% of whom were aged 65 and above (Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2012). The Oosterpark was built in phases, starting in the 1910s when the municipality built a temporary village and a workhouse in a meadow away from the city, to shield the bourgeoisie from the poor and homeless (Hofman, 1998). In the interwar period, the municipality continued to build for the working class according to the principles of the garden village. The aim of the garden village was to 'civilise' the working class through the creation of community feeling by building small-scale districts and introducing architectural design and green spaces (Ekhart, 2003; Hofman, 1998). Pubs were not allowed in the area so that residents would not be exposed to the 'evil temptations' of alcohol (Ekhart, 2003, p. 1). The 1930s saw the construction of a soccer stadium and several playgrounds in the Oosterpark as a result of residents' initiatives, and during that time the municipality opened a community centre, the first in the Netherlands (Hofman, 1998).

After the Second World War, the Oosterpark was expanded. From the 1970s onwards, the social composition of the neighbourhood changed as a result of large-scale renovations of pre-war homes. Families who had temporarily moved out of the neighbourhood did not return as the small pre-war homes no longer suited their housing preferences. Most older people stayed and younger singles moved into the Oosterpark (Van Burik and De Savornin Lohman, 1990). A report commissioned by the municipality of Groningen in 1990 stated that the changing social composition led to a decrease in social control and an increase in drug-related crime, through which the neighbourhood deteriorated (see Van Burik and De Savornin Lohman, 1990). The Oosterpark made national news when riots broke out on New Year's Eve in 1997 (Hofman, 1998). In 1998 the municipality, together with housing corporations, set a neighbourhood renewal programme in motion in order to improve the liveability of the Oosterpark. The aim of this programme was to create a more diverse population by attracting middle-class families from outside the neighbourhood through the provision of private housing (Gemeente Groningen, 2000). Social housing corporations sold a part of their housing stock, smaller homes were combined and sold, and some of the run-down social housing stock was demolished and replaced by new private dwellings (Duivenvoorden, 2008; Gemeente Groningen, 2010). To meet the demands of older residents who wanted to grow old in the Oosterpark (those who stayed as well as those who wanted to move back), several senior flats[4] and a retirement home were built. In 2005 the Oosterpark lost its land-

[4] In senior flats the rooms of the apartments are located on one level. Facilities vary, but can include a personal alarm system, a common room and care offered by the local care home.

mark, he city's soccer stadium; town houses now occupy the site of the former stadium. In 2007, the municipality, together with local housing corporations, initiated the 'New Local Agreement' which shifted attention to social neighbourhood renewal aimed at increasing resident participation and social cohesion in the urban renewal neighbourhoods. The municipality claimed that the character of the Oosterpark had changed drastically since the commencement of the neighbourhood renewal process: it stated that the Oosterpark had been transformed from a close-knit working-class neighbourhood to an urban neighbourhood where more highly educated singles and families were the dominant group (Gemeente Groningen, 2010).[5] It is within this socio-spatial context that we examine how older residents experience and negotiate these changes in their everyday life.

2.5 Research approach and methods

The research reported in this article is based on single, one-to-one in-depth interviews with 4 men and 9 women in their own homes. The aim was to elicit personal experiences and stories concerning the Oosterpark, and the meaning of home and everyday life in the Oosterpark. Five of the respondents were also willing (and able) to participate in a follow-up 'go-along interview' (see Kusenbach, 2003), which was conducted whilst walking through the neighbourhood. The go-along interviews were used to gain a deeper and more detailed understanding of everyday life in the Oosterpark through being 'in place' with the respondents, where the multi-sensory experiences of being in the neighbourhood acted as 'walking probes' (Evans and Jones, 2011; Trell and Van Hoven, 2010). The respondents determined the route and duration of the walk within the confines of the neighbourhood. The go-along interviews were also used as a means to observe respondents' interactions, activities and environment (Kusenbach, 2003).

Potential respondents were recruited through a senior sounding board group, coffee mornings and a senior computer course in the neighbourhood, and by snowball sampling. The respondents were diverse in age, household situation and location of residence within the neighbourhood. They were all white, received a small pension or no pension in addition to the state pension, had completed primary education and had lived in the Oosterpark for more than 10 years. Five of the respondents grew up in the Oosterpark (see Table 1 for main characteristics), and most respondents had made several moves during their lives to other neighbourhoods, towns and villages. These moves out of the neighbourhood were not forced although some had to move temporarily within the neighbourhood as a result of restructuring in the 1970s and 1980s. Being 65+, the

[5] This argument is backed by statistics. In 2000, 42% of the population of the Oosterpark were lower educated and 30% higher educated. In 2008, the lower-educated population decreased to 14% and the higher-educated population increased to 61% (Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2010).

main reason for respondents moving within the neighbourhood was the need for an age-appropriate residence. Marinus and Corrie moved because of noise and nuisance caused by drug addicts and dealers in their street, but stayed in the neighbourhood. At the time of the interview, all respondents (except Trijntje) expressed a desire to grow old in the Oosterpark.

The respondents were informed about the research through a letter of introduction that they received about a week before the interview. At the start of the interview the researcher explained the interview procedure and gained informed consent. Respondents' names and any other information that could be traced were changed to ensure anonymity. Transcripts were coded using qualitative data analysis software, (NVivo8), applying thematic analysis.

Name	Gender	Age	Marital status	Childhood in the Oosterpark	Length of residence in total	Type of housing
Albert	Male	65	Married	Yes	40-45	Private housing
Anna* & Harm[b]	Female Male	65 91	Married	No No	45-50 55-60	Social housing
Greetje*	Female	67	Single	No	35-40	Social housing
Dirk*	Male	70	Married	Yes	45-50	Social housing
Trijntje	Female	71	Single/ divorced	No	10-15	Private rent
Marinus*	Male	71	Single/ divorced	No	35-40	Social housing
Maria	Female	72	Single	No	35-40	Social housing
Johanna	Female	73	Married	No[a]	15-20	Private rent
Adriana	Female	76	Widow	No	10-15	Private housing
Tine	Female	77	Widow	Yes	75-80	Social housing
Corrie*	Female	78	Widow	Yes	70-75	Social housing
Jacoba	Female	82	Widow	Yes	55-60	Social housing

Table 1 Characteristics of the respondents

* Respondents that participated in a go-along interview

[a] Johanna was already acquainted with the neighbourhood before moving to the Oosterpark as her husband grew up in the Oosterpark and his family members lived in the neighbourhood.

[b] Anna and Harm are married and they were interviewed together.

2.6 Negotiating belonging in the Oosterpark

Our data analysis revealed how the changing character and appearance of the Oosterpark evoked feelings of nostalgia for a lost community, mirroring other studies on place attachment in changing neighbourhoods (e.g. Buffel et al., 2013; Mah, 2009). Still, most respondents expressed a strong sense of belonging to the Oosterpark. Our focus on everyday life showed how this sense of belonging is actively negotiated in everyday places and interactions within the neighbourhood, providing a sense of continuity over the course of the neighbourhood change. The ways in which changes are experienced and negotiated intersect with a working-class insideness, in which the neighbourhood acts as a "meaningful aspect of urban social life" (Fried, 2000, p. 193). We identified three main themes from the data through which this insideness is reworked: informal encounters and support, shaping neighbourhood space, and negotiating place identity. The themes also demonstrate the reciprocal relationship between the changing neighbourhood and the respondents.

2.6.1 Informal encounters and support

In a typology of Dutch working-class neighbourhoods in the 1960s and 1970s (Simonse, 1977), the street was identified as an important element in the social life as a result of dense housing and small-sized or non-existent private gardens. Social contacts revolved around family and neighbour networks situated within the neighbourhood. Simonse (1977) noted how the renovation of Dutch working-class neighbourhoods in the 1970s disturbed familiar patterns of interaction as the social composition of these neighbourhoods changed and some residents had to move out of their neighbourhood. Respondents in our research revealed that renovations in the Oosterpark, starting in the 1970s, were a turning point at which the Oosterpark gradually transformed from a close-knit working-class community to an individualised neighbourhood. Over the course of this process informal encounters and support practices were renegotiated in the neighbourhood space.

Through the renovations, indoor living spaces increased in size and it became less necessary to socialise in the street. The disappearance of local shops, the building of high-rise flats, and family homes were mentioned as factors that limited opportunities for chance encounters. These physical changes were experienced as a social "distancing process" (Ziegler, 2012, p. 7) between the respondents and the new middle-class residents. Anna (female, 65), for example, pointed out how a new private housing block precluded opportunities for establishing contacts with the new residents:

> "It's an enclave within the neighbourhood and you can't make contact with them. Of course it's nice for the parents that their children can play safely in between the houses [closed off by fences]. But you can't make contact in front of the house, [because] on the front side they have their kitchen. You never see anything."

In the face of this changing street space, older residents kept up familiar ways of street life in order to retain the social value of the street. Sitting on the front porch, which Simonse (1977) identified as typical for working-class neighbourhoods, was stressed by Dirk (male, 70) as being important for older residents' wellbeing and a sense of continuity of community:

> "Sitting outside together. It still exists. The people who live here … they carry a little table to the [common] garden and hand each other a chair through the window … It's typical for the Oosterpark. But in [other working-class neighbourhoods in Groningen] you see the same. It's something you have to preserve. I once asked [people in the senior flat where I live]: why do you continue with this? [They say] well, it's a feeling of solidarity."

Social practices such as these were not just remnants from the past which respondents held on to in the face of change, but they created a social atmosphere in the neighbourhood that became discernible to those who were not familiar with these practices (Duff, 2010). This social atmosphere shaped the social interactions of respondents who did not grow up in the Oosterpark. This was illustrated by Johanna (female, 73), who did not grow up in the neighbourhood and was not used to greeting people and being greeted in the neighbourhood where she previously lived:

> "When you live here long enough [in the Oosterpark] you become closer with the people. That's very pleasant. There are people who greet me and I greet them back. Previously [in the neighbourhood where I lived before] I would never have done that."

While respondents retained a sense of community through reproducing the street as a meeting place, the ageing process made it hard to continue these interaction patterns. As a result of reduced mobility and energy most preferred indoor meeting places in their vicinity, such as the care home restaurant, the multi-purpose buildings of the playground associations and the common spaces of senior flats. Within these spaces familiar ways of interacting were continued and actively negotiated when possibilities for encounters were limited. Tine (female, 77), for example, established an opportunity for encounter

Figure 2 The community centre in which the support and information desk is situated (photo: Debbie Lager, 2013).

in her senior apartment block. She sent a suggestion to the housing corporation that a bench be placed in the lobby of the block for a neighbour who was physically impaired.[6] The bench attracted residents of the senior flat and brought them in contact with each other. Tine sometimes sits there for a while, chatting with passers-by.

In the past, working-class neighbourhoods were characterised by poverty and it was common for neighbours to provide mutual aid (Hardill and Baines, 2009; Simonse, 1977). Respondents believed that these times of solidarity would not return, as prosperity had increased and the informal forms of support and care, on which neighbourhood life was based, had become institutionalised. However, the practices of solidarity with which they were familiar now provide a resource for giving social and functional support to other older adults, such as doing chores and preparing meals for one or the other and keeping an eye on each other. Some respondents stressed that their upbringing in poverty confirmed their commitment to help vulnerable and disadvantaged residents. This was especially true in the case of female respondents, who maintained the care roles they had held within the community and for their family over their life course by volunteering in the residential care home, facilitating and organising social gatherings, and

[6] It should be noted here that Tine is known and respected by the municipality and housing corporation for her 40 years of volunteer work in the Oosterpark.

giving informal care to non-kin. In doing so, these women actively maintained community life beyond their own home (Phillipson et al., 1999; Simonse, 1977). It should be noted that the local social networks of the respondents mostly comprised other older adults, since their kin had moved out of the neighbourhood and they did not establish contacts with younger new residents. Intergenerational support through neighbour networks, which was common in the old days, had vanished according to the respondents, as most younger women were working and did not have time to invest in the neighbourhood. Respondents were very much aware that the Oosterpark was no longer a community based on solidarity and that the older residents were left to support each other, as Maria (female, 72) highlighted with some indignation: "older people help older people".

2.6.2 Shaping neighbourhood space

In Dutch working-class neighbourhoods, residents were active in grass-roots initiatives such as tenants associations and action groups, in which issues that were directly related to the liveability of the neighbourhood could be raised (Simonse, 1977). Simonse (1977) stated that participation in top-down administrative and political structures was not popular because these bodies represented the authorities and middle-class culture. This was reflected in our data, as Albert (male, 65) illustrated when describing the Oosterpark residents of his youth: "they were always against the authorities, against the establishment". There was a strong sentiment among the respondents that the municipality, housing associations and service providers should be aware of and act according to residents' needs and wishes. They felt that the support and information desk for older adults and disabled people, situated in the community centre (the former workhouse), was not attuned to older residents' needs. These desks were initiated by the municipality and social services in Groningen neighbourhoods to provide residents with easily accessible support. However, the physical accessibility of the building was mentioned as an obstacle for entering the community centre (see Figure 2). Furthermore, respondents mentioned that the people who worked at the desk did not make their way into the neighbourhood themselves and as a consequence older adults with physical impairments could not benefit from the desk's support. This was described by Corrie (female, 78) when discussing the needs of older adults in the care home:

> "They answer a lot of questions there [at the support desk], that's very good. However, what annoys me is that people fall by the wayside because they are unable to go to the support and information desk."

Being familiar with the practices of self-organisation proved beneficial for giving shape to the neighbourhood. Residents from one senior flat started organising their own social

activities (e.g. traditional board games evenings, and coffee mornings) and support for older adults (e.g. help with filling in tax forms and information evenings about how to use a walker) in their own community centre. As this example shows, older adults are not only "passive victims of issues related to urban change" (Buffel et al., 2013, p. 103) but can actively negotiate the process so that they retain a sense of belonging for themselves and other residents. Dirk (male, 70) talked about how the community centre in the senior flat became a recognisable feature of the neighbourhood for older residents:

> "People want landmarks. They have always wanted that. In the past there were landmarks in the Oosterpark, such as the local police station on the corner of the Hortensialaan. You could always walk in there with questions about safety issues. We [the community center in the senior flat] are a landmark now."

Respondents not only contested formal structures but also used them as opportunities to re-create a sense of continuity in their sense of place. The 'New Local Agreement', aimed at increasing resident participation and involvement in the course of the neighbourhood renewal process, provided an opportunity for this. Part of this agreement were the senior sounding board groups, in which five of the respondents were involved. During meetings of the sounding board group, they voiced their concerns regarding the liveability of the neighbourhood for older adults, such as the width of new pavements for wheelchairs and the availability of benches. However, ageing in place not only related to concerns about the age friendliness of the neighbourhood but extended to the liveability of the Oosterpark for children. The Oosterpark was a child rich neighbourhood up till the 1970s (Hofman, 1998), which created an intergenerational sense of ageing in place for the respondents, as Corrie (female, 78) explained: "You should not only be concerned about whether the bus stop is close enough to the care home. Children have the future." Housing corporations attracted young families by building family dwellings, and as more families moved to the Oosterpark, the 'lively' and 'vibrant' character reminiscent of the time before the 1970s returned to the neighbourhood. During neighbourhood committee meetings some respondents advocated the provision of playgrounds and sports facilities in order to 'keep' children in the neighbourhood. The presence of children in public space provided them with a sense of continuity of community.

Through long-term residence and time spent in the neighbourhood, most respondents possessed a rich knowledge of the physical appearance of the Oosterpark, and people quickly noticed and reacted to changes that posed a threat of discontinuity, as illustrated by Anna's (65, female) work to preserve the neighbourhood's physical heritage. For over 30 years, together with her husband Harm (male, 91), she pursued her interest in the architecture and art of the Oosterpark. When Anna found out that an

Figure 3 'The antelope': an artwork rescued by Anna and now embedded in the wall of a new building (photo: Amanda Thijsen, 2012)

old building with two artworks embedded into its walls was targeted for demolition, she requested money from the 'New Local Agreement' to preserve the art for the neighbourhood. She approached the architect of a new apartment building to use the pieces, to which he agreed (see Figure 3). Through her effort, Anna helped ensure the continuity of the neighbourhood's physical appearance for other respondents. As Johanna (female, 73) noted: "New houses have been built, but the place stays. The place is familiar."

2.6.3 Negotiating place identity

The previous sections have shown how a working-class frame of reference informed the ways in which respondents negotiated neighbourhood transitions. In this section, particular attention is drawn to how the identity of the Oosterpark as a working-class neighbourhood is negotiated. This working-class identity came to the fore when certain events that took place were perceived as a threat to this identity. Some respondents indicated that working-class residents were not recognised sufficiently in the neighbourhood renewal process, as the housing corporations had not built affordable housing for them. They asserted that private housing is leading to a social division within the neighbourhood, in which working-class residents are not taken into account. Tine (female, 77) said:

> "I find it such a shame that affordable social housing is turned into private housing. I don't know how to explain [it], it's the feeling of, 'I own a home and you are just a renter." [7]

In contrast to the aim of the municipality to improve the liveability of the Oosterpark through attracting middle-class residents, respondents revealed the merits of being working class, such as straightforwardness, which helped them cope with inappropriate behaviour and disturbances in the neighbourhood. Maria (female, 72) explained:

> "Recently I was walking in another neighbourhood. There was a guy …. And very expensive houses there. And he was yelling! If that would happen in the Oosterpark, older people would say, 'Hey fella, can't you do that on another day!' … I thought to myself, it's not that bad to live here."

Although the neighbourhood is now dominated by higher-educated singles and middle-class families, respondents held on to the image of the Oosterpark as a working-class neighbourhood. As hooks (in Mah 2009, p. 307) argues, nostalgia for a lost community can "illuminate and transform the present". For our respondents, remembering and talking about events that occurred in the Oosterpark confirmed their belonging to the neighbourhood. The soccer stadium played a central role in their memories. Remembering the vibrant atmosphere of the soccer matches and the rituals around the matches (such as drinking coffee with neighbours and family before the match) conferred a sense of continuity of a collective identity, as Marinus (male, 71) describes:

> "The emotions all return [when talking about the stadium with friends]… on a Sunday it's very quiet now, there's nothing to do. That's the difference. Together we used to look forward to Sundays, to the soccer matches. It was fun. It was close by."

Reminiscing about past places and events together with other people, as this quote shows, can act as a way of situating oneself and other people in the history of the neighbourhood and creating a sense of belonging in the face of change (Degnen, 2005). But keeping a sense of continuity in neighbourhood identity should also be related to respondents' life stage. Constrained mobility, reduced energy and retirement have made them spend more time in the Oosterpark, which in turn may have intensified their feelings regarding the neighbourhood and increased the importance of retaining a positive

[7] In a 2006 documentary about the neighbourhood renewal process in the Oosterpark, residents showed similar concerns about the increase of private housing by indicating that they felt that the working-class residents were being chased out of the neighbourhood (see Oostrik & Swierstra 2006).

place identity in a changing place.

2.7 Conclusions

While ageing in place policies adopt a static notion of place, offering the benefits of familiarity and predictability to those that age in their home and community, we questioned whether the same applied to the everyday lives of older adults living in a neighbourhood undergoing urban renewal. In order to explore this issue we focused on how older adults experience and negotiate neighbourhood transitions in everyday life. Our results show how a sense of belonging is negotiated and practised in everyday places and interactions (Fenster, 2005), providing a sense of continuity in spite of neighbourhood transitions. Thus, older adults contribute to making the neighbourhood a familiar and predictable place. By adopting a relational approach, this paper highlights the "entwined becoming" (Schwanen et al. 2012, p. 1) of the relation between older adults and the neighbourhood. People and place do not develop independently of each other but are co-constituted (Duff, 2010), as Anna's story of the rescued artworks showed. Furthermore, our results highlight the contingent character of the ways older adults deal with change. In the case of the Oosterpark, a working-class insideness resulted in specific routines and behaviours which were transferred to the present in order to perpetuate the sense of community which the respondents were familiar with.

This study contributes to the understanding of the social and emotional implications of urban renewal for working-class residents. Urban renewal projects, in this case the 'New Local Agreement', can provide an opportunity for residents to remain attached to their neighbourhood (Van der Graaf and Duyvendak, 2009). However, this research also indicates how the social mix between middle-class and older working-class residents has not been achieved. Our respondents did not experience the predicted advantages of middle-class settlement in the neighbourhood. In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the meaning that place changes entail, attention should not only be paid to how change is perceived but should also be focused on everyday practices. Reijndorp (2007) is in favour of housing corporations taking responsibility for creating familiar neighbourhoods. But if urban renewal strategies are to be sensitive to older adults' wellbeing, housing corporations should also provide opportunities for older adults to continue their familiar ways of interacting. Furthermore, as older adults often have a rich knowledge of the local neighbourhood, they could safeguard the connection between the past, present and future character of a locality (Wiesel, 2012). In light of the design of 'age-friendly' neighbourhoods, older adults' housing, care and mobility needs should also be addressed in relation to local identities and cultures.

This research has provided a more nuanced understanding of the meaning of ageing in place for older adults. On the one hand, we showed the agency older adults

have in creating and maintaining a neighbourhood environment that confers a sense of belonging. On the other hand, our findings also reveal that experiences of ageing in place have become largely restricted to interactions with other older adults and are confined to places dominated by older adults. These outcomes challenge the notion of community care which underlies ageing in place policies (Milligan, 2009). Although older adults have been identified as important contributors to neighbourhoods through the provision of informal support (see Hardill and Baines 2009), there comes a time when they themselves require care and support. Further research is needed to understand the role that the neighbourhood can play in supporting its older residents (e.g. Jager-Vreugdenhil, 2012). Therefore, perceptions and attitudes of the people who can be part of older adults' everyday lives, such as neighbours and local service providers, should be identified. This would further contribute to understanding ageing in place as a relational achievement.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the respondents for sharing their stories with us. We would also like to thank, Sierd-Jan Koster, Inge Noback, Billie de Haas and Mirjam Klaassens for the valuable comments we received during the URSI paper discussion seminar and Elen-Maarja Trell and Koen Salemink for their comments and animated discussions. This research would not have been possible without the financial support of the Ubbo Emmius Fund.

References

Altman, I., Low, S.M. (Eds.), 1992. Place attachment. Plenum Press, New York.

Andrews, G.J., Evans, J., Wiles, J.L., 2012. Re-spacing and re-placing gerontology: relationality and affect. Ageing & Society FirstView, 1-35.

Andrews, G.J., Milligan, C., Phillips, D.R., Skinner, M.W., 2009. Geographical Gerontology: Mapping a Disciplinary Intersection. Geography Compass 3 (5), 1641-1659.

Brown, B.B., Perkins, D.D., 1992. Disruptions in Place Attachment. In: Altman, I., Low, S.M. (Eds.) Place Attachment. Plenum Press, New York, pp. 279-304.

Buffel, T., Phillipson, C., Scharf, T., 2013. Experiences of neighbourhood exclusion and inclusion among older people living in deprived inner-city areas in Belgium and England. Ageing & Society 33 (1), 89-109.

Cutchin, M.P., 2001. Deweyan Integration: Moving Beyond Place Attachment in Elderly Migration Theory. The International Journal of Aging and Human Development 52 (1), 29-44.

Davies, A., James, A., 2011. Geographies of Ageing. Social Processes and the Spatial Unevenness of Population Ageing. Ashgate, Farnham.

Degnen, C., 2005. Relationality, place, and absence: a three-dimensional perspective on social memory. The Sociological review 53 (4), 729-744.

Duff, C., 2010. On the role of affect and practice in the production of place. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 28 (5), 881-895.

Duivenvoorden, A., 2008. Report YURP's-societeit Oosterparkwijk Groningen. Nijestee en Kennisplatform Roeg & Roem.

Ekhart, J., 2003. Architectuurgids Oosterparkwijk [Architecture guide of the Oosterpark]. Platform GRAS, Groningen.

Ekstrom, M., 1994. Elderly people's experiences of housing renewal and forced relocation: Social theories and contextual analysis in explanations of emotional experiences. Housing Studies 9 (3), 369-391.

Evans, J., Jones, P., 2011. The walking interview: Methodology, mobility and place. Applied Geography 31 (2), 849-858.

Fenster, T., 2005. Gender and the City: The Different Formations of Belonging. In: Nelson, L., Seager, J. (Eds.) A Companion to Feminist Geography. Blackwell, Malden, pp. 242-256.

Findlay, R., McLauglin, D., 2005. Environment and psychological responses to ageing. In: Andrews, G.J., Phillips, D.R. (Eds.) Ageing and place. Routledge, Oxon, pp. 118 - 132.

Fried, M., 2000. Continuities and discontinuities of place. Journal of Environmental Psychology 20 (3), 193-205.

Fullilove, M.T., 1996. Psychiatric Implications of Displacement: Contributions From the Psychology of Place. American Journal of Psychiatry 153 (12), 1516-1523.

Gardner, P.J., 2011. Natural neighborhood networks — Important social networks in the lives of older adults aging in place. Journal of Aging Studies 25 (3), 263-271.

Gemeente Groningen, 2000. Bestemmingsplan Oosterparkwijk [Zoning Oosterpark neighbourhood]. Gemeente Groningen, Groningen.

Gemeente Groningen, 2010. Wijkperspectief Oosterparkwijk [Neighbourhood perspective Oosterpark]. Gemeente Groningen, Groningen. <gemeente.groningen.nl/woonomgeving/wat-zijn-wijkperspectieven/>.

Hardill, I., Baines, S., 2009. Active Citizenship in Later Life: Older Volunteers in a Deprived Community in England. The Professional Geographer 61 (1), 36-45.

Hofman, B., 1998. De Groninger Oosterparkwijk. Historisch overzicht in foto's en beschrijvingen [The Oosterpark neighbourhood of Groningen. Historical overview in pictures and descriptions]. Profiel Uitgeverij, Bedum.

Hopkins, P., Pain, R., 2007. Geographies of age: thinking relationally. Area 39 (3), 287-294.

Hörschelmann, K., Van Hoven, B., 2003. Experiencing Displacement: The Transformation of Women's Spaces in (Former) East Germany. Antipode 35 (4), 742-760.

Jager-Vreugdenhil, M., 2012. Nederland Participatieland? De ambitie van de Wet maatschappelijke ondersteuning (Wmo) en de praktijk in buurten, mantelzorgrelaties en kerken [The Netherlands, a participation country? The ambition of the Social Support Act and practice in neighbourhoods, caregiving relations and churches]. Vossiuspers UvA, Amsterdam.

Jones, P., Evans, J., 2012. Rescue Geography: Place Making, Affect and Regeneration. Urban Studies 49 (11), 2315-2330.

Kusenbach, M., 2003. Street Phenomenology: The Go-Along as Ethnographic Research Tool. Ethnography 4 (3), 455-485.

Law, J., 1999. After ANT: complexity, naming and topology. In: Law, J., Hassard, J. (Eds.) Actor Network Theory and after. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 1-14.

Lawton, M.P., Nahemow, L., 1973. Ecology and the Aging Process. In: Eisdorfer, C., Lawton, M.P. (Eds.) The Psychology of Adult Development and Aging. American Psychological Association, Washington D.C., pp. 619-674.

Lawton, M.P., 1977. An Ecological Theory of Aging Applied to Elderly Housing. Environments and Aging 31 (1), 8-10.

Mah, A., 2009. Devastation but also Home: Place Attachment in Areas of Industrial Decline. Home Cultures 6 (3), 287-310.

Milligan, C., 2009. There's No Place Like Home: Place and Care in an Ageing Society. Ashgate, Farnham.

Milligan, C., Bingley, A., Gatrell, A., 2005. 'Healing and Feeling': The Place of Emotions in Later Life. In: Davidson, J., Bondi, L., Smith, M. (Eds.) Emotional Geographies. Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 49-62.

Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2012. Gronometer. <http://groningen.buurtmonitor.nl> (accessed 14.12.12)

Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2010. Statistisch Jaarboek Groningen [Statistics Yearbook Groningen]. <http://www.os-groningen.nl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=142:statistisch-jaarboek-2010&catid=25:2011&Itemid=10;>.

Oostrik, S. & Swierstra, S. 2006, Wijkvernieuwing op z'n Oosterparks [Neighbourhood renewal the Oosterpark way]. Noorddoc, Groningen.

Paton, K., 2009. Probing the symptomatic silences of middle-class settlement: A case study of gentrification processes in Glasgow. City 13 (4), 433-451.

Peace, S.M., Holland, C., Kellaher, L., 2006. Environment and identity in later life. Open University Press, Maidenhead.

Phillips, D.R., Siu, O., Yeh, A.G.-., Cheng, K.H.C., 2005. Ageing and the urban environment. In: Andrews, G.J., Phillips, D.R. (Eds.) Ageing and place. Routledge, Oxon, pp. 147-163.

Phillipson, C., 2007. The 'elected' and the 'excluded': sociological perspectives on the experience of place and community in old age. Ageing & Society 27 (3), 321-342.

Phillipson, C., 2010. Ageing and Urban Society: Growing Old in the 'Century of the City'. In: Dannefer, D., Phillipson, C. (Eds.) The SAGE Handbook of Social Gerontology. SAGE, London, pp. 597-606.

Phillipson, C., Bernard, M., Phillips, J., Ogg, J., 2001. The family and community life of older people. Routledge, London.

Phillipson, C., Bernard, M., Phillips, J., Ogg, J., 1999. Older people's experiences of community life: patterns of neighbouring in three urban areas. The Sociological review 47 (4), 715-743.

Reijndorp, A., 2007. Andere kijk op ouder worden [Different view on ageing]. In: Aedes-Actiz Kenniscentrum Wonen-Zorg (Ed.) Innovatie in wonen en zorg [Innovation in housing and care]. <http://www.kcwz.nl/doc/5jaar/Essay%20Reijndorp.pdf>.

Rowles, G.D., 1983. Place and personal identity in old age: Observations from Appalachia. Journal of Environmental Psychology 3 (4), 299-313.

Rowles, G.D., 1978. Prisoners of Space? Exploring the Geographical Experience of Older People. Westview Press, Colorado.

Rowles, G.D., Watkins, J.F., 2003. History, Habit, Heart and Hearth: On Making Spaces into Places. In: Warner Schaie, K., Wahl, H.-., Mollenkopf, H., Oswald, F. (Eds.) Aging Independently. Living Arrangements and Mobility. Springer Publishing Company, New York, pp. 77-96.

Rubinstein, R.L., Parmelee, P.A., 1992. Attachment to place and the representation of life course by the elderly. In: Altman, I., Low, S.M. (Eds.) Place attachment. Plenum Press, New York, pp. 139 - 163.

Russell, C., 2005. Home, Identity, and Belonging in Later Life: The Perspectives of Disadvantaged Inner-City Men. In: Rowles, G.D., Chaudbury, H. (Eds.) Home and Identity in Late Life. Springer, New York, pp. 237-249.

Savage, M., Bagnall, G., Longhurst, B., 2005. Globalization and belonging. Sage, London.

Schwanen, T., Hardill, I., Lucas, S., 2012. Spatialities of ageing: The co-construction and co-evolution of old age and space. Geoforum 43 (6), 1291-1295.

Simonse, J., 1977. Belemmerde kansen. Sociologie van de volksbuurt [Hindered opportunities. Sociology of the working-class neighbourhood]. Samsom, Alphen aan den Rijn.

Smith, A.E., 2009. Ageing in Urban Neighbourhoods. Place attachment and social exclusion. The Policy Press, Bristol.

Speller, G.M., Lyons, E., Twigger-Ross, C., 2002. A community in transition: the relationship between spatial change and identity processes. Social Psychological Review 4 (2), 39-58.

SVB, 2012. AOW-pensioen [State pension]. <www.svb.nl> (accessed 15.06.13)

Trell, E.M., Van Hoven, B., 2010. Making sense of place: exploring creative and (inter) active research methods with young people. Fennia 188 (1), 91-104.

Uitermark, J., Duyvendak, J.W., Kleinhans, R., 2007. Gentrification as a governmental strategy: social control and social cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam. Environment and Planning A 39 (1), 125-141.

Van Burik, A., De Savornin Lohman, P., 1990. Evaluatie Buurtpreventie Bloemenbuurt [Evaluation Neighbourhood Prevention Bloemenbuurt]. Bureau Criminaliteitspreventie, Amsterdam.

Van der Graaf, P., Duyvendak, J.W., 2009. Thuis voelen in de buurt: een opgave voor stedelijke vernieuwing. Een vergelijkend onderzoek naar de buurthechting van bewoners in Nederland en Engeland [Feeling at home in the neighbourhood: a task for urban renewal. A comparative research of residents' neighbourhood attachment in the Netherlands and England]. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.

Van der Meer, M., Droogleever Fortuijn, J., Thissen, F., 2008. Vulnerability and environmental stress of older adults in deprived neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie 99 (1), 53-64.

Van Hoven, B., Douma, L., 2012. 'We make ourselves at home wherever we are' - Older people's placemaking in Newton Hall. European Spatial Research and Policy 19 (1), 65-80.

Van Nimwegen, N., Van Praag, C. (Eds.), 2012. Bevolkingsvraagstukken in Nederland anno 2012. Actief ouder worden in Nederland [Population issues in the Netherlands anno 2012. Active ageing in the Netherlands]. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.

WHO 2002. Active Ageing: A Policy Framework. World Health Organization, Geneva.

WHO 2007. Global age-friendly cities: a guide. World Health Organization, Geneva.

Wiesel, I., 2012. Can Ageing Improve Neighbourhoods? Revisiting Neighbourhood Life-Cycle Theory. Housing, Theory and Society 29 (2), 145-156.

Wiles, J.L., Allen, R.E.S., 2010. Embodied ageing in place: what does it mean to grow old?. In: Chouinard, V., Hall, E., Wilton, R. (Eds.) Towards enabling geographies: "disabled" bodies and minds in society and space. Ashgate, Farnham, pp. 217-235.

Wiles, J.L., Leibing, A., Guberman, N., Reeve, J., Allen, R.E.S., 2012. The Meaning of "Aging in Place" to Older People. The Gerontologist 52 (3), 357-366.

Ziegler, F., 2012. "You have to engage with life, or life will go away": An intersectional life course analysis of older women's social participation in a disadvantaged urban area. Geoforum 43 (6), 1296-1305.

Chapter 3

Understanding older adults' social capital *in place*: obstacles to and opportunities for social contacts in the neighbourhood[8]

Abstract. Social capital has been a popular concept used in research and policy to stress the value of social contacts for the health and wellbeing of older adults. However, not much is known about the obstacles to and the opportunities for local social contacts in older adults' everyday lives. In this paper we provide a geographical account of older adults' social capital, by taking the main context of their daily life, the neighbourhood, into consideration. We draw on semi-structured and walking interviews with 17 older adults living in an urban neighbourhood in the Northern Netherlands in order to illustrate the meanings of, the obstacles to and the opportunities for local social contacts. Our findings show that the neighbourhood is not an isotropic surface where opportunities for developing social capital are evenly distributed. The potential benefits of older adults' local social contacts differ depending on the place of social interaction within the neighbourhood and expectations associated with these interactions. Furthermore, different time geographies of older and younger residents as well as ageist stereotypes of older adults' body capital influence the development of social capital in the neighbourhood.

Key words: ageing in place, social capital, body capital, qualitative methods, urban neighbourhoods, the Netherlands

[8] This chapter is reprinted from: Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Huigen, P.P.P., 2015. Understanding older adults' social capital in place: Obstacles to and opportunities for social contacts in the neighbourhood. Geoforum 59, 87-97.

3.1 Introduction

In Western societies, national policies regarding older adults promote ageing-in-place (i.e. ageing in one's home and neighbourhood) as a means of contributing to the wellbeing of older adults, as well as to delay admission to long-term care institutions and thereby reduce health care costs (Van den Heuvel, 1997; Wiles et al., 2012). The organisation of social support, housing and care for older people is increasingly transferred from the public to the private domain (Schwanen et al., 2012b). In 2007, the Social Support Act (Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning, Wmo) was implemented in the Netherlands in order to stimulate this shift from governmental to more individual and community responsibility (Jager-Vreugdenhil, 2012). An assumption implicit in the Social Support Act is that besides support and care received from family and friends, neighbourhoods will act as supportive communities (i.e. residents providing instrumental and social support) for their older and vulnerable residents (Van der Meer et al., 2008). This assumption has recently been questioned by Jager-Vreugdenhil (2012), who demonstrated that the Social Support Act is a poor fit with the social norms that govern local social contacts. She shows, for example, that people consider themselves and others to be self-reliant when they can arrange their own professional support and care before turning to family and neighbours for help. This example draws attention to the value of local social contacts for older adults and the obstacles to its potential benefits. In this paper, we discuss the concept of social capital to understand the meanings of local social contacts for older adults.

Social capital stands for the ability of individuals or communities to secure benefits from social networks (Portes, 1998). Putnam's (1995) conceptualisation of social capital as "the features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p. 67) has become highly influential in the social sciences and the policy arena (Holt, 2008). His vision of social capital as a panacea for social problems has legitimised its use by governments as a "no-cost alternative for social welfare provision" (Naughton, 2013, p. 2). Amongst geographers, Bourdieu's (1986) understanding of social capital has gained popularity (see Antoninetti and Garrett, 2012; Holt, 2008; Naughton, 2013) as it provides a more critical understanding of the concept. His writing draws attention to the mechanisms through which social capital can develop and how the reproduction of sociability can lead to social inequalities (Portes, 1998). As Bourdieu's account of social capital does not explicitly address its relation to geographical space (Cresswell, 2002), Naughton (2013) has recently called for geographical accounts of social capital that do justice to the complexities and power dynamics of social networks in people's everyday lives. In line with Naughton, we present in this paper an understanding of older adults' social capital as a "set of relations, processes, practices and subjectivities that affect, and are

affected by, the contexts and spaces in which they operate" (2013, p. 11).

We consider the neighbourhood an important place in which social capital is acquired by older adults (see also Buffel et al., 2013). Social capital is not necessarily neighbourhood-bound, but for people who are less mobile, such as older adults, local social contacts may be an important resource for receiving social and instrumental support (Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Gray, 2009). Particularly in light of diminishing institutionalised resources and the diminishing levels of independence, the ability of older adults to secure benefits from the neighbourhood's social infrastructure may become more important for their wellbeing (Buffel et al., 2012). Furthermore, as Phillipson et al. (2001) showed, in the past five decades or so, friends and neighbours have taken a more prominent place in the social networks of older adults, which used to be dominated by family ties. They argue that this shift towards 'personal communities' implies that to a greater extent "relationships hav[e] to be 'managed' in old age" (2001, p. 253). In light of this trend, it is important to understand the meaning of local social contacts and the factors that impede or promote the social capital of older people in the neighbourhood.

This paper investigates the meanings of, the obstacles to and the opportunities for local social contacts of older adults in an urban neighbourhood in Groningen, a city in the Northern Netherlands. First, we briefly discuss social capital in the context of ageing, health and wellbeing. We then consider the role of the neighbourhood and body capital in understanding older adults' social capital in place. Next, we introduce the research location, the qualitative data collection methods and the respondents. The analysis focuses on three dimensions of older adults' social capital in place, each highlighting how different dynamics within the interplay of self, others and place facilitate and/or hinder the ability to benefit from local social contacts: contacts with younger neighbours, contacts with other older adults and a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood's social life.

3.2 Social capital, ageing, health and wellbeing

In the past decade, there has been a burgeoning interest amongst social gerontologists and health researchers in understanding the quantity and quality of older adults' social networks through the lens of social capital (e.g. Bojorquez-Chapela et al., 2012; Boneham and Sixsmith, 2006; Cramm et al., 2013; Forsman et al., 2012; Gray, 2009; Muckenhuber et al., 2013; Nilsson et al., 2006; Nummela et al., 2009; Nyqvist et al., 2013; Pollack and Von Dem Knesebeck, 2004). Particularly since Helliwell and Putnam's (2004) publication -*The Social Context of Well-Being*-, this literature has stressed the advantages of social capital for the health and wellbeing of older adults. This interest in social capital can be framed within a neo-liberal discourse in which older people are "expected to seek out ways of living that promote their own quality of life and autonomy" (Schwanen and

Ziegler, 2011, p. 726). In other words, older adults have to increasingly demonstrate responsibility in arranging their own social and instrumental support through the use of their social network.

Putnam's (2000) operationalization of social capital, by the means of proxy variables, may provide another reason for the interest in the relation between social capital and the health and wellbeing of older adults. Putnam measured social capital through, for example, membership in voluntary and civic organisations, political engagement and having trust in friends and neighbours. The above-mentioned literature on the social capital of older adults suggests social capital's mitigating effect on loneliness and symptoms of depression (e.g. Nyqvist et al., 2013), its benefits for self-rated health and wellbeing (e.g. Muckenhuber et al., 2013) and its positive effect on receiving social and instrumental support (see Gray, 2009). Several factors have been identified that impede older adults' development of social capital and thus negatively influence health and wellbeing. The most frequently mentioned factors are not having a partner, childlessness and low socio-economic status, which translate into the lack of resources that give access to social and instrumental support (e.g. Gray, 2009; Nilsson et al., 2006; Nyqvist et al., 2013). Furthermore, gender has been identified as a factor that can hinder or facilitate the social capital of older people (see Bojorquez-Chapela et al., 2012; Boneham and Sixsmith, 2006; Muckenhuber et al., 2013; Sixsmith and Boneham, 2003). For example, Muckenhuber et al. (2013) showed that there is no age effect in the association between informal social capital (i.e. social interactions that exist outside the context of institutions and formal organisations) and psychological health for women, whilst there is for men. An explanation for this gender difference may be that men, who often were the breadwinner of the family, did not develop the skills for creating informal social capital during their working life, whilst women are more accustomed to establishing contacts with neighbours as they spent more time at home (Muckenhuber et al., 2013; Sixsmith and Boneham, 2003). However, as nowadays it is more common for women to work, these gender differences may diminish for future generations of older people, which in turn can weaken the status of women as community keepers (Phillipson et al., 1999).

Informal local social contacts play an important role in the social capital and wellbeing of older adults (Forsman et al., 2012; Gray, 2009; Walker and Hiller, 2007). Based on an analysis of the British Household Panel Survey, Gray found that "neighbourhood contacts and the frequency of meeting people had a greater effect on the support scores than being active, partnership status or having had children" (2009, p. 28). In a similar vein, Scharf and De Jong Gierveld (2008) concluded that older adults with wider community focused networks (including the engagement in the community and relationships with family, friends and neighbours) were less likely to

be lonely than older people with a more private and restricted network. Having social capital in the form of local contacts thus proves an important factor in the wellbeing of older people as it can serve as a resource for receiving support and it can counteract loneliness. Familiarity with the physical and social neighbourhood, often the result of a long length of residence, can be advantageous for developing and maintaining social capital (Phillipson et al., 1999). Furthermore, it has also been found that older adults, through their involvement in neighbourhood life, contribute to the social capital of their community (e.g. Hodgkin, 2012; Phillipson et al., 1999). In this vein, the social capital of older adults can be beneficial for other people.

Through their "insights and social experiences over the life course, including capacity for resourcefulness and resilience" (Warburton et al., 2013, p. 10) older adults have great opportunities for developing social capital. Whilst social capital has the potential to benefit the health and wellbeing of older people, the resources for social capital may decline in later life (Nyqvist et al., 2013). The mental decline and death of partners and friends, and declining health and mobility can make it hard for older adults to develop and maintain social capital (Gilroy, 2008; Nyqvist et al., 2013). Gray furthermore emphasised that "poor health may limit the capacity to reciprocate, which in turn may mean *attracting* less help" (2009, p. 13, original emphasis). In this sense, the ability to develop and maintain social capital is the result of a good health status. This problem mirrors one of the major critiques of Putnam's theory, namely that he understands social capital simultaneously as a cause and an effect (Portes, 1998). Instead of understanding social capital as "pre-existing" or "added-to fund" and being "prescriptive about the outcomes" (Naughton, 2013, p. 11) in terms of health and wellbeing indicators, it may be more interesting to see *how* social capital comes into existence (Grootaert et al., 2004) at the scale of the neighbourhood in older adults' everyday lives.

3.3 Older adults' social capital in place: neighbourhoods and body capital

The literature on the relation between social capital and the health and wellbeing of older people tends to be dominated by a quantitative approach and is therefore not apt to account for social capital's contingent character (Naughton, 2013). Recently, geographers have shown that the ways in which older adults experience issues such as independence and mobility, social participation, and neighbourhood change (see respectively Schwanen et al., 2012a; Ziegler, 2012; Lager et al., 2013) may be contingent on the time of day, the geographical context and the type of interaction with other people. Ziegler (2012), for instance, found that the social participation of older women differed between the neighbourhood in which they lived and the seniors' club they attended. In contrast to the seniors' club, where the women could continue their familiar patterns of interaction, in the neighbourhood a different, unfamiliar kind of sociability impeded

their social relationships with neighbours. Additionally, Ziegler showed the role of the ageing body in these social relationships; the women expected support from their younger neighbours because of their 'being old'. This example suggests that in addition to objective indicators of social capital, such as membership of an organisation, the *meanings* and *experiences* of the geographical context and the ageing body play a role in older adults' social capital.

The seminal book -*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*-, published by Jane Jacobs in 1961, offers insight into the relation between the built environment of cities and the social capital of its residents (Lovell, 2009). Jacobs critiqued the city planning of the 1950s for creating dull and uniform neighbourhoods that "sealed against any vitality and buoyancy of city life" (Wendt, 2009, p. 4) and conferred social problems. She posited that vibrant and safe neighbourhoods are places that enable and encourage social interactions and mutual support through the mix of uses and the provision of sidewalks. The mixture of residence, recreation and commerce in one neighbourhood would contribute to a continuous use of the street. This in turn would promote chance encounters and provide street safety through the voluntary control exerted by the presence of people (i.e. "eyes upon the street" Jacobs, 1961, p. 35). Similarly, more recent research has shown the association between neighbourhood design and social capital (for a literature review see Wood and Giles-Corti, 2008). Neighbourhood services and facilities have been found to be important for older adults' social capital as they provide opportunities for encounters (see Cramm et al., 2013; Forsman et al., 2012; Van Hoven and Douma, 2012). However, Buffel et al. (2013) noted that the mere presence of these 'local opportunity structures' are not the main predictor of social participation in old age. They argue that it may be "the extent to which facilities are *perceived* to be age-friendly is more important for explaining social participation in old age" (2013, p. 665, emphasis added).

In addition to the built environment, bodily dispositions have also been found to play a role in older adults' social capital. The physical and cognitive capacities of the body, referred to as body capital by Antoninetti and Garrett (2012), have the potential to either facilitate or hinder social capital. For instance, in a study on how older people experience independence and mobility, Schwanen et al. (2012a) found that self-reliance and unaided functioning were valued positively by the respondents, which is in line with "the ideal of the autonomous, self-actualising individual" (p. 1314) that prevails in Anglo-American culture. Valuing independence as unaided functioning affected respondents' social contacts, resulting, for example, in deciding not to ask friends and neighbours for rides. The values that are ascribed to people's bodies (e.g. as old or disabled) have the ability to produce socio-spatial differences (Holt 2008). Literature on ageism stresses how ageist stereotypes can have "real consequences" for older people (Minichiello et al.,

2000, p. 255), in terms of the way they are treated, how they behave and consequentially their health and wellbeing (Levy, 2009). In a qualitative study, Minichiello et al. (2000), for instance, found that some of their older respondents withdrew from activities as they experienced that other people perceived their older body as a nuisance (i.e. as stiff and slow). In this sense, social capital can, in part, be seen as a social construct in which other people can impede the development of older adult's social capital (Gilleard and Higgs, 2011; Levy, 2009).

3.4 Research context: Corpus den Hoorn

Twentieth-century urban design and planning in Western countries envisioned social interactions amongst residents in urban neighbourhoods (Patricios, 2002). The neighbourhood of Corpus den Hoorn, located in the city of Groningen in the Northern Netherlands was built in the period of 1956-60 and was the first neighbourhood in the city that was designed according to the *wijkgedachte* [Neighbourhood Unit] (Hofman, 2007). The *wijkgedachte* was propagated in the Netherlands in 1946, in the publication 'Stad der toekomst, de toekomst der stad' ['City of the future, the future of the city'] by a commission consisting of urban planners, architects and sociologists. The commission believed that due to the chaos and the obscurity of city life, the sense of community was disappearing (Van de Wijdeven, 2012). Inspired by the concept of the Neighbourhood Unit, which was developed by the American sociologist Clarence Perry in 1929, the commission saw self-contained neighbourhoods consisting of small-scale districts as prerequisites for the development of a sense of community (Van de Wijdeven, 2012). In the 1950s, in several Dutch cities, neighbourhoods were designed according to the principles of the *wijkgedachte*. Neighbourhoods that were built according to this model have a centre around which all the facilities and amenities for everyday life are concentrated, such as shops, churches, schools and a community centre. Small-scale districts are clustered around the neighbourhood centre. Correspondingly, in the centre of Corpus den Hoorn a square surrounded by a retail area was built, and green spaces were located on the neighbourhood's fringes. Four churches, several primary schools and six care and retirement homes were built throughout the neighbourhood. The spatial structure of the neighbourhood was characterised by the repetitive use of building blocks with predominantly medium- and high-rise buildings. Because Corpus den Hoorn was built as a residential area, exit roads to motorways and the city centre were incorporated into the neighbourhood design to connect residents to commercial areas (see Figure 4). Until today, the neighbourhood has remained its residential function with the retail area adjacent to the square.

Until 2002, Corpus den Hoorn had not undergone any significant physical or functional changes and the neighbourhood's public spaces became 'worn out' (Arcadis,

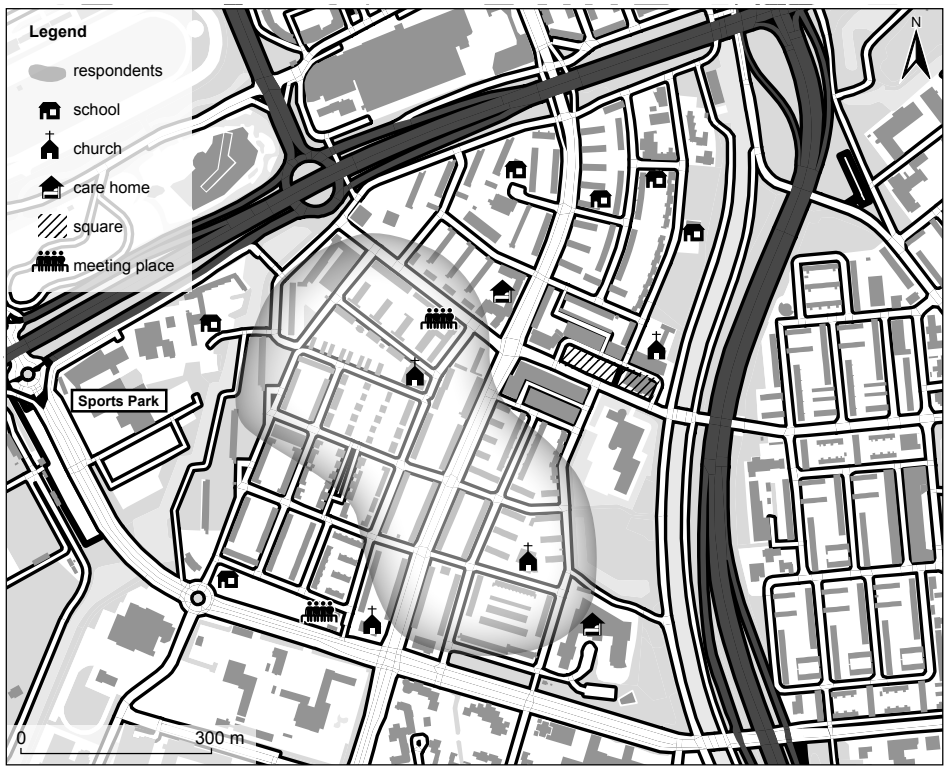

Figure 4 The neighbourhood of Corpus den Hoorn (Tamara Kaspers)

2002). Furthermore, the existing housing stock no longer suited the housing preferences of families. In 2002, the municipality of Groningen implemented a neighbourhood renewal programme as there were concerns that real estate developers and shop owners did not want to invest in Corpus den Hoorn, and as a consequence the neighbourhood would lose facilities such as shops and schools (Arcadis, 2002). The aim of this programme was to diversify the neighbourhood's population, which was dominated by older people, singles and childless couples, by attracting more families (Gemeente Groningen, 2010). For this purpose, a block of medium-rise buildings was demolished and replaced by large town houses, which are now predominantly inhabited by dual-income couples with young children. Furthermore, social housing corporations renovated part of their outdated housing stock, and the shopping centre and green spaces were refurbished. Two residential care homes have remained and there is a sufficient supply of senior flats for the growing ageing population. There is a variety of shops that cater for the everyday needs of older residents, such as a supermarket, a post office, a pharmacy, a hairdresser, an optician and a hearing aid specialist, which are located around the square (see Figure 4). Every Wednesday morning a food market is held at the square. There is a

local activity centre in which activities for older adults take place (e.g. a cards club and a handicraft club), and coffee mornings are held in the building that houses the support and information desk, in a church adjacent to the square, and in the care homes. The availability of suitable housing and facilities may explain the relatively large proportion of older residents in Corpus den Hoorn compared to the municipality's average (see Table 2).

Age group	Corpus den Hoorn (4571 inhabitants)	Municipality of Groningen (198,395 inhabitants)
0 - 22	19%	30%
23 - 64	56%	58%
65 +	25%	12%

Table 2 Age structure of Corpus den Hoorn compared to the municipality's average (Source: Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2014)

3.5 Research approach and methods

The research discussed in this article is based on single, one-to-one in-depth interviews with 14 women and 3 men in their own homes between September 2012 and February 2013. The aim was to elicit the meanings of, obstacles to and opportunities for social contacts in Corpus den Hoorn. Seven of the respondents were also willing (and able) to participate in a follow-up walking interview in which the principal researcher (Debbie Lager) joined each of the respondents in one of their routine walks. The walking interviews were used to gain a deeper and more detailed understanding of how the respondents related to their local neighbourhood (see Kusenbach, 2003). We did not use an interview guide for the walking interviews, but instead asked questions based on the elements in the neighbourhood that prompted reactions by the respondents (i.e. walking probes, see De Leon and Cohen, 2005). The respondents set the route, distance, time of day and duration of the walk within the confines of Corpus den Hoorn (but they could also walk outside the neighbourhood if they so desired). The duration of the walks ranged from thirty to ninety minutes. Respondents chose to walk either around 10am or 2pm, which in general reflects the times of day at which Dutch older adults (65+) go outside (Jorritsma and Olde Kalter, 2008).

Potential respondents were recruited through a senior sounding board group[9], a card club in a local activity centre, by snowball sampling and with the help of an employee from a social service committed to the empowerment and participation of vulnerable people in Groningen neighbourhoods. The respondents were all white and

[9] Senior sounding board groups were initiated by the municipality of Groningen in urban renewal neighbourhoods in order to take into account the concerns and needs of older residents in the neighbourhood renewal process.

most of them can be categorised as old-old (75+) (see Table 3 for main characteristics). Generally, the 'old-old' have a greater chance of experiencing an accumulation of physical and mental health dysfunctions than the 'young-old' (Phillips et al., 2010). In our sample, the majority of the 'old-old' were using mobility devices, but none of them suffered from mental health dysfunctions. In the process of recruitment we did not reach older adults with mental health dysfunctions and socially isolated older adults, who could have provided additional knowledge on the obstacles to and opportunities for social contacts in the neighbourhood. The under-representation of men, and specifically the lack of single men and widowers in our research, may be the result of several factors, such as the larger proportion of women in older cohorts, and the small number of older men present at the places in which respondents were recruited (see Marhánková, 2014). Furthermore, the few older single men who were approached for the research showed no interest in participating in an interview about local social contacts. This may indicate that they were not accustomed to 'small-talk' about their life in the neighbourhood (Sixsmith and Boneham, 2003) or that they did not have local contacts to talk about.

Name	Gender	Age	Marital status	Length of residence in total	Type of housing	Mobility devices
Aaltje[a b]	F	66	Married	35-40	Apartment	Walker
Antje[a]	F	68	Widow	40-45	Single-family home	x
Emma[a b]	F	74	Married	20-25	Apartment	x
Steventje[a]	F	78	Widow	15-20	Senior apartment	x
Neeltje	F	79	Single	0-5	Senior apartment	x
Jan and Lenie	M F	81 77	Married	40-45	Apartment	Walking stick x
Catharina	F	82	Widow	40-45	Apartment	Walker & mobility scooter
Elisabeth	F	83	Widow	40-45	Apartment	Walking stick
Hendrikus and Geertruida	M F	84 80	Married	30-35	Apartment	Walking stick Walking stick
Cornelis and Antonia	M F	86 82	Married	40-45	Single-family home	x x
Jantje[a]	F	85	Divorced	50-55	Single-family home	Walker
Hendrika[a]	F	86	Widow	30-35	Senior apartment	Walker
Petronella[a]	F	87	Widow	0-5	Senior apartment	x
Alida	F	93	Widow	0-5	Senior apartment	Walker

Table 3 Characteristics of the respondents

[a] Respondents that participated in a walking interview

[b] Aaltje and Emma are neighbours and were interviewed together

Ethical approval for this research was obtained from the ethics committee of the Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen. The respondents were informed about the research through a letter of introduction that they received by post about a week before the interview. At the start of the interview, the researcher explained the interview procedure and how research outcomes would be disseminated, and obtained informed consent. Respondents' names and any other information that could be traced were changed to ensure anonymity. Transcripts were coded using qualitative data analysis software (NVivo8) applying thematic analysis (see Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Building on Naughton's (2013) understanding of social capital as a "set of relations, processes, practices and subjectivities that affect, and are affected by, the contexts and spaces in which they operate" (p. 11), we developed a code tree with the following categories: place, people, type of social contact, meaning of social contact, obstacles and opportunities for social contacts (self/body, others, place and time). We then examined the links between these categories and during this process the key themes of the analysis gradually started to emerge. In the next section, we present our findings according to three key themes.

3.6 Dimensions of older adults' social capital in the neighbourhood

In line with other studies, the analysis revealed how local social contacts in the neighbourhood played an important role in respondents' social capital (e.g. Gray, 2009). The majority of respondents spent a large share of their time in their home and in the neighbourhood as a result of several interrelated factors, such as retirement, lack of money and, in particular, low levels of energy and declining mobility. This increased their need for local sociability such as greeting and having a chat with neighbours. The rhythms of their everyday lives consisted, in general, of a mixture of home-based activities and neighbourhood-based activities (see also Fobker and Grotz, 2006). Most respondents visited the shops at the square once or twice a week and regularly attended the food market on Wednesday mornings. Eight respondents were involved in a local activity that they attended every week (e.g. a card club or a handicraft club). Others visited a coffee morning infrequently or were not involved in any activity. Some respondents also undertook activities outside Corpus den Hoorn to which they travelled by bus, and the few that owned a car also bought their groceries in a nearby town.

We identified many obstacles to and, to a lesser extent, opportunities for maintaining meaningful local social contacts in Corpus den Hoorn. Three themes emerged, which were important for understanding older adults' social capital in the neighbourhood: contacts with younger neighbours; contacts with other older adults in the neighbourhood; and the various places in Corpus den Hoorn which played a role in impeding or affording social capital.

3.6.1 Contacts with younger neighbours

In spite of the relatively large proportion of older people (65+) in Corpus den Hoorn, the majority of respondents had younger neighbours. Younger neighbours were referred to by the respondents as people who were still working. As older neighbours died or moved into care homes, respondents expressed the desire for social interaction with their younger neighbours, through greeting, having a chat and receiving instrumental support when needed. However, the different time geographies (see Hagerstrand, 1970) of the respondents and their younger neighbours proved to be an obstacle to developing and benefiting from these interactions.

A time-geographical approach refers to the when and where of people's activities and the different kind of constraints that may limit the synchronisation of interactions (Hagerstrand, 1970, see also Stjernborg et al., 2014) and, in the case of our research, the development of social capital. Putnam (1995) argued that one of the reasons for the decline in social capital he observed in the United States was the movement of women into the labour force; a lack of time and energy diminished their participation in civic organisations. Most of our female respondents were from a generation in which women had to stop working after marriage in order to become fulltime housewives. They had their 'eyes upon the street' (Jacobs, 1961) as they watched their children play or went grocery shopping. As younger generations of women increasingly entered the labour market, their time geographies shifted from the neighbourhood to places of work and as a consequence this kind of social control disappeared. For the respondents, who would be in the streets in the mornings and afternoons when their younger neighbours were at work, the lack of 'eyes upon the street' impeded the ability to benefit from younger residents' support, as the following quote exemplifies:

> "The weather was really nice so I went outside to do some gardening. Don't know how it happened but I fell backwards and then I was sitting there on my bum. I tried to pull myself up, holding onto a bicycle rack, but it didn't work. I kept on calling: 'Hellooo, can somebody help me!' But all the women in the neighbourhood work, so there was nobody who could hear me." (Jantje, female, 85)

In addition to obstacles to receiving support, as the above example shows, the different time geographies also limited the opportunities to meet and have a chat with younger neighbours and, thus, the development of social capital. The majority of the respondents stayed at home at night as they felt it would be unsafe for older people to go out at night. In line with Sixsmith and Boneham (2003), their declining body capital resulted in feeling vulnerable to attacks after sunset and, as a consequence, they stayed indoors in the evening when they might have had the opportunity to meet their neighbours at the

square or in the shops, where they would do their grocery shopping after coming home from work.

When respondents did encounter their younger neighbours, these contacts often resulted in disappointment as respondents felt their gestures and attempts to make contact were not reciprocated. Similar to Ziegler's (2012) findings, the respondents understood the neighbourhood as "a collection of social relationships which are based on certain norms and expectations" (p. 5). They expected, for example, that younger neighbours would sweep the snow from the sidewalk for older people. However, this expectation was not met, and most respondents would hoard food and stay indoors during winter time instead of asking their younger neighbours for help. Afraid of not being understood, they did not ask for help, as is shown by Antonia (female, 82):

> **Interviewer**: You told me that you wouldn't ask your neighbours for some practical support.
> **Antonia**: I think they would be surprised if I did, because they think we are still going strong.
> **Interviewer**: You think that they think you can still handle everything?
> **Antonia**: Me and my husband go into town, we go on caravan holidays. They think we are strong. Those younger neighbours, they could be your grandchildren, they haven't got a clue.

Other respondents similarly assumed that their younger neighbours would think they did not need support as their physical appearance (the clothes they wear and their make-up) and their "busy bodies" (Katz, 2000, p. 135) did not reveal their declining body capital. The ideal of activity in later life (Katz, 2000) may, in this case, actually impede the development of social capital.

The hesitation to ask younger neighbours for support may also be related to not being used to asking for help. Social capital "can change over time and in response to different situations" (Shaefer-McDaniel, 2004, p. 156), and earlier in life respondents did not have to rely on their neighbours for receiving help with, for instance, the changing of a light bulb or grocery shopping. Social capital does not come naturally and also presupposes an investment (Bourdieu, 1986) by older people themselves, for example in the form of trust, as Elisabeth (female, 83) explains:

> "When I go on a holiday, they [two young students who help in the household] take care of my mail and plants. I give them my key, you must give them trust. If you are standoffish, those kids think, 'what does this old bag want?'"

Bourdieu stresses that social capital takes time to accumulate and comes into being through the exchange of sociability, which "presupposes and produces mutual knowledge and recognition" (1986, p. 8). However, our research shows that the different time geographies of the respondents and younger residents obstructs opportunities for encounters and, thereby, the development of mutual knowledge and trusting relationships. This may provide an explanation for the deficit of young non-kin adults in the networks of older adults in the Netherlands (see Uhlenberg and De Jong Gierveld, 2004).

3.6.2 Contacts with other older adults in the neighbourhood

As a quarter of Corpus den Hoorn's population is above the age of 65 and there are several meeting places, coffee mornings and activities for older residents, it may seem as though it is not difficult to develop and maintain social capital. However, the majority of respondents felt they could not easily benefit from local contacts with their peer group. Whereas earlier in life they had more choice in who to interact with and where to go, their decreasing action radius and shrinking size of their social network limited their options of those with whom they could develop contacts. Other older adults in the neighbourhood did not necessarily prove to be a resource for respondents' social capital, as the following quote illustrates:

> "I feel lonely sometimes … I miss the depth of conversation that used to be there in the past. At least, I cannot find it in my local environment, let's put it that way." (Cornelis, male, 86)

This quote furthermore demonstrates how contacts amongst older people do not necessarily equate with bonding social capital. Bonding capital refers to homogeneous social networks (e.g. same ethnicity, age, social class) (Helliwell and Putnam, 2004). For our respondents, age did not result in bonding capital but turned out to be an impediment to benefiting from contacts with older residents at activities and coffee mornings. They negatively valued these places as "old-age space[s]" (Pain et al., 2000, p. 379), characterised by small talk and 'old people' conversation topics, as shown in the following quote:

> "It doesn't feel like I have real contact with them [people at the coffee morning]. I find that a disadvantage. I have the feeling that they are such old people … I want to know what happens in the world … One important topic of conversation is medicines and they also love to talk about troubles with going to the toilet." (Petronella, female, 87)

In contrast to the findings by Ziegler (2012) and Pain et al. (2000), the age-graded spaces of activities and coffee mornings did not offer our respondents a positive age-identity but made them contest old age (see Townsend et al., 2006). It may be that respondents' internalisation of activity as the ideal type of ageing makes them devalue their peers' inactive and more unhealthy bodies (Biggs et al., 2006), thereby impeding the development of social capital. Having said this, in spite of the negative connotations with these spaces, most respondents kept attending activities and coffee mornings to anticipate for future decreasing mobility and health.

A feeling that they did not belong to the group of older residents that attended activities and coffee mornings also played an important role in respondents' ability to develop meaningful interactions. Bourdieu (1986) argued that the series of social interactions through which social capital comes into being produces the boundaries of a group: who belongs and who does not belong. Social capital seemed to be present amongst Corpus den Hoorn's older residents as respondents frequently talked about groups of older people, but for our respondents, the boundaries of the groups were experienced as impermeable. Some respondents indicated that when they were younger they had other priorities than investing in the neighbourhood's social life, such as hobbies and volunteer work outside of Corpus den Hoorn, and as a consequence they felt they could not take part in conversations of the 'locals'. The respondents who said they had not lived in Corpus den Hoorn for that long, when compared to those living in the neighbourhood for over thirty years (see Table 3), attributed the difficulties with connecting to groups of older people to their short time of residence in the neighbourhood. This is exemplified by Steventje (female, 78), who had lived in Corpus den Hoorn for sixteen years:

> "You can't just join [groups of older people] when you get older. They all got friends and have their appointments and you can't get them to go somewhere. That's the only disadvantage [of moving to Corpus den Hoorn], but that may have been the same at another place. When I, for example, asked 'who would like to make a day-trip by train?', no one wanted to join me."

This quote also shows that investing in social capital is always a risk for the one who invests, as the people who are on the receiving side do not necessarily reciprocate (Bourdieu, 1986).

The ways in which respondents developed their social capital in the neighbourhood with peers seemed to differ along the lines of gender. In section 3.5, we discussed the under-representation of men in this research. Most female respondents indicated that the activities and coffee mornings were dominated by older women and

that men seemed less interested in attending these places. They believed that men could not entertain themselves and were passive and unwilling in trying new things (see also Marhánková, 2014) and establishing local social contacts, as the following quote by Alida (female, 93) exemplifies:

> "Women can enjoy themselves better than men … when my husband was still alive, when I went somewhere I said to him: 'you will entertain yourself right'? But when I got home he was watching television, he didn't make things cosy for himself, he did not put on ambient lighting. He was just sitting there by himself. Well that's silly isn't it, that's no fun."

In her research on the involvement of older men and women in senior centres Marhánková (2014) posited that these centres are constructed as feminine spaces, in terms of the activities being offered (such as arts and crafts) and the employee's and older women's perceptions of older men as passive. Such negative perceptions and older women dominated spaces may pose a threshold for older men in developing social capital in the neighbourhood.

Interestingly, the obstacles that respondents experienced in the interactions with other older adults at activities, coffee mornings and other gatherings were not present in the interactions with older neighbours. The benefits that they hoped to derive from contacts with older adults at activities, such as sharing the same interests and making friendships, differed from those they expected to derive from their contacts with older neighbours. Similar to Walker and Hiller (2007), most of our respondents who

Figure 5 One of Corpus den Hoorn's streets (photo: Debbie Lager, 2014).

Figure 6 The neighbourhood square (photo: Debbie Lager, 2014).

still had older neighbours positively valued these interactions in terms of the sense of neighbourliness they provided (e.g. greeting, having a chat and the occasional mutual instrumental and social support):

> "To hold a door open for an older neighbour: we really enjoy doing that to help each other … It's no big deal." (Jan, male, 81)

Walker and Hiller found that in spite of the supportive contacts their older respondents experienced with their older neighbours, these contacts would not "impinge on their sense of privacy and independence" (2007, p. 1158). Keeping contacts with neighbours on a more 'superficial' level can prevent the disappointment of investing in social capital without receiving a satisfactory return. Especially for those living in (senior)apartment blocks with a shared entrance, as the majority of the respondents did (see Table 3), investing in a friendship with a neighbour can be risky as it may be hard to avoid seeing him or her in the case of a disappointing relationship.

3.6.3 Sense of belonging to neighbourhood life

This section focuses on how places in the neighbourhood are experienced as contributing to or hindering a sense of belonging to neighbourhood social life. The sense of belonging to neighbourhood's social life can be considered a potential benefit of older adults' social capital. In Corpus den Hoorn, the potential to benefit from this sense of belonging took different shapes in the streets (see Figure 5), at the neighbourhood's square (see Figure 6) and in the respondents' homes.

In section 3.6.1, we showed how the respondents were not able to benefit from the potential support of the 'eyes upon the street'. The different time geographies of older residents and their younger neighbours not only impeded actual contacts but also

evoked a feeling of a lack of liveliness (Gilroy, 2008). This was especially the case for respondents with mobility devices, who were dependent on the proximate environment for their daily walk. These respondents indicated that daily walks were their exercise; walking mitigated their decreasing body capital, both as a way to keep fit and to remain engaged with the outside world (Peace et al., 2006). They longed for lively streets, to see children play and occasionally greet someone, but they were also aware that this was not realistic:

> "Listen, that's the way it is. I can't get them out on the streets, hahaha. And when they do come outside they get into their cars, that's their holy cow, and they go shopping or go to work. Well, they should do whatever they like to do." (Hendrika, female, 86)

Ziegler (2012) and Lager et al. (2013) have also shown how older adults experienced a lack of liveliness and opportunities for chance encounters on the neighbourhood's streets. The empty streets did not offer the respondents an incentive to go outside, and usually they needed to have a purpose – or they would think of a purpose – to get out of their home. For the majority of respondents, the neighbourhood square provided an encouragement for going outside. Antje (female, 68), for example, emphasized how the proximity of the shops at the square served an important role in staying engaged in the neighbourhood's social life:

> "When I had trouble with walking and was very ill I forced myself to do grocery shopping. I also had to, because I did not receive that much support. But it [going to the square] had its function: that I went outside. I looked around in the shops for silly stuff, got a herring at the market and ran into someone."

In contrast to the streets, the square did play a role in respondents' social capital, as it provided the potential to benefit from other people's presence, through greeting, chatting or seeing familiar faces. Coleman (1988) listed obligations and expectations as one of the benefits of social capital. However, the loose social contacts (or 'weak ties', using the terminology of Granovetter, 1973) at the square, which did not imply any expectations or obligations, were highly valued by the respondents. This corresponds to the findings in the two previous sections which showed the disappointments of respondents' unmet expectations regarding their social contacts with younger neighbours and other older adults.

When respondents were at home, a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood's social life remained important to them. For those having mobility impairments,

information and communication technologies (ICTs) can offer an opportunity to maintain and develop social capital in the community (Warburton et al., 2013). In our respondents' accounts, ICTs such as the telephone and the Internet did not seem to play an important role in maintaining local social contacts. Our analysis, however, indicates that the social capital of older adults does not only have to come into being in actual communication. Both Ewart and Luck (2013) and Fobker and Grotz (2006) have demonstrated how the ability to see and hear neighbourhood life from the home allowed older adults to maintain a sense of participation in the life on the streets. Jantje (female, 85), stressed the contrast between the view from her window, on the empty street, and that of a friend who lived at the square:

> "A friend of mine lives at the square. When she sits in her chair she sees movement and liveliness. I always say to her: 'it's so cosy where you live'. I miss that … especially now as I get older and don't go outside that often. When I was younger I went outside to visit old people, my children were young, I used to have enough distraction. But now, this view [from my window] is starting to depress me."

This quote also shows how the location of the home in the neighbourhood can affect respondents' sense of belonging to Corpus den Hoorn's social life, especially for those who are more confined to their home. The *wijkgedachte*, described in the research context, saw the neighbourhood's physical design as inducing social interaction and a sense of community amongst residents. In this section we have shown how older adults' social capital is contingent on different places within Corpus den Hoorn. The streets, the neighbourhood square and the location of the home all influenced respondents' sense of belonging to the neighbourhood's social life to a different extent (see also Buffel et al., 2014 who made a similar point regarding older adults' place attachment). Jacobs (1961) advocated the mix of uses for creating lively neighbourhoods. Although Corpus den Hoorn contains retail, recreation and residence, these uses are not mixed, which for our respondents made the streets lifeless and the square a lively environment. However, it should be noted that the relation between the physical design of the neighbourhood and older adults' social capital is not unidirectional. The different time geographies of our respondents and younger residents as well as the relatively limited action radius of respondents with mobility devices played a role in how the different places in the neighbourhood were experienced.

3.7 Conclusions

Naughton (2013) encourages geographers to "reconsider social capital as a vehicle for telling different stories about sociospatial relations for audiences outside the discipline

and the academy" (p. 16). With this study we aim to go beyond understanding older adults' social capital as something that is 'good to have' by expressing the contingent and relational nature of social contacts. While literature on older adults' social capital is dominated by its outcome in terms of health and wellbeing, we examined the mechanisms that hinder or foster the creation of social capital in the context of the neighbourhood. In our research, the neighbourhood turned out to be important for understanding older adults' social capital, but it is not an isotropic surface where the same opportunities for developing social capital are evenly distributed across the neighbourhood. By adopting a qualitative approach we were able to highlight the everyday micro-geographies of older adults' social capital. The neighbourhood streets, the square, the view from the home onto the streets, senior activities and coffee mornings: they all bear different meanings for the respondents in terms of the benefits derived from the social contacts in these places.

The materiality of place is intrinsically interwoven with social capital in the sense that it can afford or impede social contacts to a certain extent. The design of a neighbourhood plays a role in when, where and how older people can meet fellow residents. As our results show, Jacobs' (1961) work is still relevant in understanding the relation between neighbourhood design and social capital. In the case of older adults, we demonstrated that social capital does not only exist in actual communication, but also comes into being through a visual encounter with people in the neighbourhood, even when observed from the home. However, as discussed above, neighbourhood liveliness is under pressure since many younger residents spend much of their days outside the neighbourhood for work. Indeed, in the context of gentrification, Paton (2009), showed how middle-class settlers in a working-class neighbourhood did not use local facilities and services and did not find practices of neighbouring important. This raises the question of how spaces can be created to facilitate encounters between differently mobile groups in neighbourhoods. Can different rhythms and speeds of movement be synchronised and will they result in meaningful encounters? In this vein, it would be fruitful to understand social capital for different groups of people as part of the politics of mobility (Cresswell, 2010).

In addition to place, our empirical evidence demonstrates how the identity of the ageing body in a particular place plays an important role in older adults' social capital. The respondents seem to have internalised the ideal of activity in old age, which in turn may negate their social capital. In the age-graded spaces of the coffee mornings and leisure-time activities, being confronted with 'real' old people impeded respondents to benefit from these social contacts. In terms of the contacts with younger neighbours, respondents' appearance as active made them feel they were not entitled to instrumental support. The emphasis on self-reliance and pro-activity in active ageing and ageing-in-

place policies may downplay the limitations of the body in old age to society (see Biggs et al., 2006), and hinder older adults from developing supportive relationships. In terms of the shift towards care provided by the community (Schwanen et al., 2012b), it would be interesting to see under which circumstances stereotypes of one's own group are activated amongst older adults and how this influences their behaviour (e.g. Wheeler and Petty, 2001). Such knowledge could provide more insight in the role of ageism in hindering or fostering older adults' social capital and propose the concept as a socially negotiated construct.

Gray (2009) suggested that it is important for older adults to develop bridging social capital with younger generations in order to secure continuity of social and instrumental support. In the Netherlands, the Social Support Act assumes that this is taking place and assigns great significance to such interactions in their ageing-in-place policies. However, the Eurobarometer on intergenerational solidarity shows that the majority of European Union citizens are of the view that there are insufficient opportunities for older and younger people to meet (The GALLUP Organisation, 2009). Our research also suggests that trusting relationships between older and younger people in neighbourhoods are not easily established, at least in part because of the different time geographies of both groups. Further research is needed that addresses how social capital works in different life stages and between different generations in order to understand the complexity of social interactions in old age (Vanderbeck, 2007).

Although in this study we highlighted the neighbourhood, more spaces and places remain to be explored in understanding older adults' social capital. In light of the significance of younger people in the social capital of older people, the meaning of intergenerational places and activities in the context of community development deserve attention (Thang and Kaplan, 2013). But research on age-graded places, such as senior centres, is also needed in order to gain more insight in the differences and inequalities of social capital amongst older people (e.g. Cronin and King, 2014; Marhánková, 2014). Last but not least, the digital world needs to be considered in understanding local social contacts. Nowadays, information dissemination and communication about neighbourhood events and activities increasingly take place through the Internet (Crang et al., 2007). As the Internet can provide "affordances for neighboring" (Hampton and Wellman, 2003, p. 279), more research is needed that addresses the impediments and opportunities for older adults' development of local social capital through ICTs (e.g. Hardill and Olphert, 2012). The linkages between the neighbourhood and other places in which older adults' social capital may develop, and the relative importance of these places to each other remain to be investigated in understanding older adults' social capital in place.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the respondents for sharing their stories with us. We would also like to thank Rachel Pain for her valuable feedback that helped us improve this paper, Koen Salemink for the many fruitful social capital discussions and Tamara Kaspers for her cartographical work. This research would not have been possible without the financial support of the Ubbo Emmius Fund.

References

Antoninetti, M., Garrett, M., 2012. Body capital and the geography of aging. Area 44 (3), 364-370.

Arcadis, 2002. Wijkvernieuwingsplan Corpus den Hoorn [Neighbourhood renewal program Corpus den Hoorn]. Gemeente Groningen, Groningen.

Biggs, S., Phillipson, C., Money, A., Leach, R., 2006. The age-shift: observations on social policy, ageism and the dynamics of the adult lifecourse. Journal of Social Work Practice 20 (3), 239-250.

Bojorquez-Chapela, I., Manrique-Espinoza, B., Mejía-Arango, S., Solís, M.M.T., Salinas-Rodríguez, A., 2012. Effect of social capital and personal autonomy on the incidence of depressive symptoms in the elderly: Evidence from a longitudinal study in Mexico. Aging & Mental Health 16 (4), 462-471.

Boneham, M.A., Sixsmith, J.A., 2006. The voices of older women in a disadvantaged community: Issues of health and social capital. Social science & medicine 62 (2), 269-279.

Bourdieu, P., 1986. The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J.G. (Ed.), Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education. Greenwood, New York, pp. 241-258.

Buffel,T., Verté, D., De Donder, L., De Witte, N., Dury, S., Vanwing,T., Bolsenbroek, A., 2012. Theorising the relationship between older people and their immediate social living environment. International Journal of Lifelong Education 31 (1), 13-32.

Buffel, T., De Donder, L., Phillipson, C., Dury, S., De Witte, N., Verté, D., 2013. Social participation among older adults living in medium-sized cities in Belgium: the role of neighbourhood perceptions. Health Promotion International 29 (4), 655-668.

Buffel, T., De Donder, L., Phillipson, C., Dury, S., De Witte, N., Verté, D., 2014. Place Attachment Among Older Adults Living in Four Communities in Flanders, Belgium. Housing Studies 29 (6), 800-822.

Coleman, J.S., 1988. Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. American Journal of Sociology 94, 95-120.

Cramm, J.M., Van Dijk, H.M., Nieboer, A.P., 2013. The Importance of Neighborhood Social Cohesion and Social Capital for the Well Being of Older Adults in the Community. The Gerontologist 53 (1), 142-152.

Crang, M., Crosbie, T., Graham, S., 2007. Technology, time - space, and the remediation of neighbourhood life. Environment and Planning A 39 (10), 2405-2422.

Cresswell, T., 2002. Bourdieu's geographies: in memorium. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 20, 379-382.

Cresswell, T., 2010. Towards a politics of mobility. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 28, 17-31.

Cronin, A., King, A., 2014. Only connect? Older lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) adults and social capital. Ageing & Society 34 (2), 258-279.

De Leon, J.P., Cohen, J.H., 2005. Object and walking probes in ethnographic interviewing. Field Methods 17 (2), 200–204.

Ewart, I., Luck, R., 2013. Living from Home. Older people looking beyond the house. Home Cultures 10 (1), 25-42.

Fobker, S., Grotz, R., 2006. Everyday Mobility of Elderly People in Different Urban Settings: The Example of the City of Bonn, Germany. Urban Studies 43 (1), 99-118.

Forrest, R., Kearns, A., 2001. Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood. Urban Studies 38 (12), 2125-2143.

Forsman, A.K., Herberts, C., Nyqvist, F., Wahlbeck, K., Schierenbeck, I., 2013. Understanding the role of social capital for mental wellbeing among older adults. Ageing & Society 33 (5), 804-825.

Gemeente Groningen, 2010. Wijkanalyse Corpus den Hoorn [Neighbourhood analysis Corpus den Hoorn]. Gemeente Groningen, Groningen. <gemeente.groningen.nl/woonomgeving/wat-zijn-wijkperspectieven>

Gilleard, C., Higgs, P., 2011. Ageing abjection and embodiment in the fourth age. Journal of Aging Studies 25 (2), 135-142.

Gilroy, R., 2008. Places that Support Human Flourishing: Lessons from Later Life. Planning Theory & Practice 9 (2), 145-163.

Granovetter, M.S., 1973. The Strength of Weak Ties. American Journal of Sociology 78 (6), 1360-1380.

Gray, A., 2009. The social capital of older people. Ageing & Society 29 (1), 5-31.

Grootaert, C., Narayan, D., Nyhan Jones, V., Woolcock, M., 2004. Measuring Social Capital. An Integrated Questionnaire. World Bank working paper no. 18, Worldbank, Washington DC.

Hagerstrand, T., 1970. What about people in Regional Science?. Papers of the Regional Science Association 24 (1), 6-21.

Hampton, K., Wellman, B., 2003. Neighboring in Netville: How the Internet Supports Community and Social Capital in a Wired Suburb. City & Community 2 (4), 277-311.

Hardill, I., Olpert, C.W., 2012. Staying connected: Exploring mobile phone use amongst older adults in the UK. Geoforum 43 (6), 1306-1312.

Helliwell, J.F., Putnam, R.D., 2004. The social context of well-being. Philosophical Transactions 359, 1435-1446.

Hodgkin, S., 2012. 'I'm older and more interested in my community': Older people's contributions to social capital. Australasian Journal on Ageing 31 (1), 34-39.

Hofman, B., 2007. Groningen groeit. Van Niewe Stadt tot Meerstad. In Boekvorm Uitgevers, Assen.

Holt, L., 2008. Embodied social capital and geographic perspectives: performing the habitus. Progress in Human Geography 32 (2), 227-246.

Jacobs, J., 1961. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. Vintage, Westminster, MD, USA.

Jager-Vreugdenhil, M., 2012. Nederland Participatieland? De ambitie van de Wet maatschappelijke ondersteuning (Wmo) en de praktijk in buurten, mantelzorgrelaties en kerken [The Netherlands, a participation country? The ambition of the Social Support Act and practice in neighbourhoods, caregiving relations and churches]. PhD Thesis, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

Jorritsma P., Olde Kalter M., 2008. Grijs op reis. Over de mobiliteit van ouderen [Grey travel. About the mobility of older people]. Kennisinstituut voor Mobiliteitsbeleid, Den Haag.

Katz, S., 2000. Busy Bodies: Activity, aging, and the management of everyday life. Journal of Aging Studies 14 (2), 135-152.

Kitchin, R., Tate, N.J., 2000. Conducting Research into Human Geography. Pearson Education Limited, Harlow.

Kusenbach, M., 2003. Street Phenomenology: The Go-Along as Ethnographic Research Tool. Ethnography 4 (3), 455-485.

Lager D., Van Hoven, B., Huigen, P.P.P., 2013. Dealing with change in old age: negotiating working-class belonging in a neighbourhood in the process of urban renewal in the Netherlands. Geoforum 50, 54-61.

Levy, B., 2009. Stereotype Embodiment: A Psychosocial Approach to Aging. Current Directions in Psychological Science 18 (6), 332-336.

Lovell, S.A., 2009. Social Capital: The Panacea for Community?. Geography Compass 3 (2), 781-796.

Marhánková, J.H., 2014. 'Women are just more active' – gender as a determining factor in involvement in senior centers. Ageing & Society 34 (9), 1482-1504.

Minichiello, V., Browne, J., Kendig, H., 2000. Perceptions and consequences of ageism: views of older people. Ageing & Society 20 (3), 253-278.

Muckenhuber, J., Stronegger, W.J., Freidl, W., 2013. Social capital affects the health of older people more strongly than that of younger people. Ageing & Society 33 (5), 853-870.

Naughton, L., 2013. Geographical narratives of social capital: Telling different stories about the socio-economy with context, space, place, power and agency. Progress in Human Geography. DOI: 10.1177/0309132513488731

Nilsson, J., Rana, A.K.M.M., Kabir, Z.N., 2006. Social Capital and Quality of Life in Old Age: Results From a Cross-Sectional Study in Rural Bangladesh. Journal of aging and health 18 (3), 419-434.

Nummela, O., Sulander, T., Karisto, A., Uutela, A., 2009. Self-rated Health and Social Capital Among Aging People Across the Urban-Rural Dimension. International Journal of Behavioral Medicine 16 (2), 189-194.

Nyqvist, F., Cattan, M., Andersson, L., Forsman, A.K., Gustafson, Y., 2013. Social Capital and Loneliness Among the Very Old Living at Home and in Institutional Settings: A Comparative Study. Journal of aging and health 25 (6), 1013-1035.

Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2014. Gronometer. <http://groningen.buurtmonitor.nl> (Accessed 16 July 2014)

Pain, R., Mowl, G., Talbot, C., 2000. Difference and the negotiation of 'old age'. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 18 (3), 377-393.

Paton, K., 2009. Probing the symptomatic silences of middle-class settlement: A case study of gentrification processes in Glasgow. City 13 (4), 433-451.

Patricios, N., 2002. The neighbourhood concept: a retrospective of physical design and social interaction. Journal of architectural and planning research 19 (1), 70-90.

Peace, S.M., Holland, C., Kellaher, L., 2006. Environment and identity in later life. Open University Press, Maidenhead.

Phillips, J., Ajrouch, K., Hillcoat-Nallétamby, S., 2010. Key concepts in social gerontology. SAGE, London.

Phillipson, C., Bernard, M., Phillips, J., Ogg, J., 1999. Older people's experiences of community life: patterns of neighbouring in three urban areas. Sociological review 47 (4), 715-743.

Phillipson, C., Bernard, M., Phillips, J., Ogg, J., 2001. The family and community life of older people. Routledge, London.

Pollack, C.E., Von Dem Knesebeck, O., 2004. Social capital and health among the aged: comparisons between the United States and Germany. Health & place 10 (4), 383-391.

Portes, A., 1998. SOCIAL CAPITAL: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. Annual Review of Sociology 24, 1-24.

Putnam, R.D., 1995. Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. Journal of Democracy 6 (1), 65-78.

Putnam, R.D., 2000. Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community. Touchstone, New York.

Scharf, T., De Jong Gierveld, J., 2008. Loneliness in urban neighbourhoods: an Anglo-Dutch comparison. European Journal of Ageing 5 (2), 103-115.

Schwanen, T., Ziegler, F., 2011. Wellbeing, independence and mobility: an introduction. Ageing & Society 31 (5), 719-733.

Schwanen, T., Banister, D., Bowling, A., 2012a. Independence and mobility in later life. Geoforum 43 (6), 1313-1322.

Schwanen, T., Hardill, I., Lucas, S., 2012b. Spatialities of ageing: The co-construction and co-evolution of old age and space. Geoforum 43 (6), 1291-1295.

Shaefer-McDaniel, N. J., 2004. Conceptualizing Social Capital among Young People: Toward a New Theory. Children, Youth and Environments 14 (1), 153-172.

Sixsmith, J., Boneham, M., 2003. Older men's participation in community life: notions of social capital, health, and empowerment. Ageing International 28 (4), 372-388.

Stjernborg, V., Wretstrand, A., Tesfahuney, M., 2014. Everyday Life Mobilities of Older Persons – A Case Study of Ageing in a Suburban Landscape in Sweden. Mobilities, DO I:10.1080/17450101.2013.874836

Thang, L.L., Kaplan, M.S., 2013. Intergenerational Pathways for Building Relational Spaces and Places. In: Rowles, G.D., Bernard, M. (Eds.), Environmental Gerontology. Making Meaningful Places in Old Age. Springer Publishing Company, New York, pp. 225-252.

The GALLUP Organisation, 2009. Intergenerational solidarity. Analytical report, Flash Eurobarometer 269. <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_269_en.pdf>

Townsend, J., Godfrey, M., Denby, T., 2006. Heroines, villains and victims: older people's perceptions of others. Ageing & Society 26 (6), 883-900.

Uhlenberg, P., De Jong Gierveld, J., 2004. Age-segregation in later life: an examination of personal networks. Ageing & Society 24 (1), 5-28.

Van de Wijdeven, T. 2012. Doe-democratie. Over actief burgerschap in stadswijken [Do democracy. About active citizenship in urban neighbourhoods]. Eburon, Delft.

Van den Heuvel, W., 1997. Policy towards the elderly: Twenty-five years of Dutch experience. Journal of Aging Studies 11 (3), 251-258.

Van der Meer, M., Droogleever Fortuijn, J., Thissen, F., 2008. Vulnerability and environmental stress of older adults in deprived neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie 99 (1), 53-64.

Van Hoven, B., Douma, L., 2012. We make ourselves at home wherever we are' - Older people's placemaking in Newton Hall. European Spatial Research and Policy 19 (1), 65-80.

Vanderbeck, R.M., 2007. Intergenerational Geographies: Age Relations, Segregation and Re-engagements. Geography Compass 1 (2), 200-221.

Walker, R.B., Hiller, J.E., 2007. Places and health: A qualitative study to explore how older women living alone perceive the social and physical dimensions of their neighbourhoods. Social science & medicine 65 (6), 1154-1165.

Warburton, J., Cowan, S., Bathgate, T., 2013. Building social capital among rural, older Australians through information and communication technologies: A review article. Australasian Journal on Ageing 32 (1), 8-14.

Wendt, M., 2009. The Importance of *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) by Jane Jacobs to the Profession of Urban Planning. New Visions for Public Affairs 1, 1-24.

Wheeler, S.C., Petty, R.E., 2001. The Effects of Stereotype Activation on Behavior: A Review of Possible Mechanisms. Psychological bulletin 127 (6), 797-826.

WHO, 2007. Global age-friendly cities: a guide. World Health Organization, Geneva.

Wiles, J.L., Leibing, A., Guberman, N., Reeve, J., Allen, R.E.S., 2012. The Meaning of "Aging in Place" to Older People. The Gerontologist 52 (3), 357-366.

Wood, L., Giles-Corti, B., 2008. Is there a place for social capital in the psychology of health and place*?.* Journal of Environmental Psychology 28 (2), 154-163.

Ziegler, F., 2012. "You have to engage with life, or life will go away": An intersectional life course analysis of older women's social participation in a disadvantaged urban area. Geoforum 43 (6), 1296-1305.

Chapter 4

Exploring the subjective dimensions of older adults' use of neighbourhood space through walking interviews[10]

Abstract. For older people living in densely populated urban neighbourhoods, walking is an important mode of everyday mobility. Besides being a way to get around, the act of walking is considered to be a place making practice. As such, older adults' walking practices are informed by how they experience neighbourhood space. The objective of this paper is to unravel the experiences that unfold for older adults while walking, and to distinguish how these experiences relate to older adults' use of their neighbourhood. The results of this research are based on twelve walking interviews with older adults in two urban neighbourhoods in the Northern Netherlands. The walking interviews proved to be particularly suitable for eliciting the embodied and emplaced character of place experiences. Our findings reveal that place making occurs through routes which are informative of older adults' various engagements with place, including feeling different, the need for sociability and reliving memorable past feelings. We conclude by discussing the broader implications of this study for age-friendly neighbourhoods.

Key words: placemaking, embodiment, walking interviews, older adults, age-friendly neighbourhoods

[10] This chapter is reprinted from: Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Huigen, P.P.P., Exploring the subjective dimensions of older adults' use of neighbourhood space through walking interviews, and is under revision at an international peer-reviewed journal.

4.1 Introduction

With a growing population of older people ageing in place (i.e. ageing in one's own home and neighbourhood) it is important to understand how they experience and make use of neighbourhood space. Neighbourhood space is an important resource for older adults' health and wellbeing, as a decreasing action radius may heighten the value of the neighbourhood for daily living and social interaction (Day, 2008). For older people living in densely populated urban neighbourhoods, walking is an important mode of everyday mobility (see Banister and Bowling, 2004; Fobker and Grotz, 2006). As well as being a way to get around, walking is a means through which meanings about the places of one's everyday life are (re)produced (Lorimer, 2011; Pink, 2007; Waitt et al., 2009). Duff pointed out the significance of walking to our sense of place: *"To walk is to be affected by place and to simultaneously contribute to the ongoing co-constitution of self and place"* (Duff, 2010, p. 887, original emphasis). In this way, walking can be considered a place making practice (Lee and Ingold, 2006) and can evoke feelings about a particular place, such as feelings of social inclusion and exclusion, place attachments and a sense of belonging (Duff, 2010; Wunderlich, 2008). In this paper, we examine how older adults experience neighbourhood space through walking and how this influences the ways in which they make use of the neighbourhood.

Knowing how older people experience their neighbourhood while walking can contribute to improving the walkability of urban neighbourhoods. Walkability refers to the quality of pedestrian space, which traditionally has taken a transportation efficiency perspective, using measures such as speed of pedestrian flow (Hutabarat Lo, 2009). Although walkability researchers and planners have recognised the physiological needs of the older body in traversing space, highlighting the importance of resting places and clear signage (e.g. Phillips et al., 2013; Van Cauwenberg et al., 2014), "the importance of place meanings and attachments for older people's use of space" (Hockey et al., 2013, p. 539) have found little resonance in walkability research and decision-making with regard to planning (Andrews et al., 2012; Hockey et al., 2013). Andrews et al. (2012) proposed the use of qualitative methods to gain insight into the "complex embodied movements and the experiences of people" (p. 1929) which shape why and where they walk. In our research, we chose to conduct walking interviews, as this method allows the researcher to observe the relationship between experiences and the use of neighbourhood space.

A small but growing body of literature highlights the value of mobile methods, such as walking interviews, to gain insight into the spatiality of place experiences (e.g. Bergeron et al., 2014; Duff, 2010; Holton and Riley, 2014; Jones and Evans, 2012). Walking interviews have become a popular method for exploring the meaning of health

in place (e.g. Carpiano, 2009; Sunderland et al., 2012) and in understanding senses of place, especially of youth (e.g. Cele, 2006; Duff, 2010; Trell and Van Hoven, 2010). Walking makes the geographical context of experiences more explicit (Anderson, 2004) and can reveal the role of bodily abilities in the use of a place (e.g. Matthews et al., 2003). The growing popularity of walking interviews is related to the attention on the embodied and emplaced nature of human experience in the social sciences (Ricketts Hein et al., 2008). These notions address the idea that experiences cannot be understood separately from the specific place and time in which they come into being (Elwood and Martin, 2000), and the body's sensorial and affective engagement with its environment (Spinney, 2014; Van Hoven, 2011).

This paper aims to explore the subjective dimensions of older adults' use of neighbourhood space through walking interviews, based on a research project exploring the meanings of neighbourhood space in older adults' everyday life. The walking interviews were originally used in conjunction with semi-structured interviews to gain a deeper and more detailed understanding of neighbourhood experiences. The walks, in particular, informed our previous work about the impact of neighbourhood transitions on older adults' sense of belonging (see Lager et al., 2013) and our work about older adults' social capital in place (see Lager et al., 2015). We first discuss the embodied and emplaced nature of ageing in the neighbourhood, then address how walking interviews contribute to the understanding of place experiences. After this, we introduce the research context and methodology. Our analysis focuses on how walking acts as means of place making for older adults.

4.2 Embodied ageing in place

> "embodied ageing and disability are best understood *in place*, within specific social and physical environments and geographies." (Wiles and Allen, 2010, p. 230)

Wiles and Allen (2010) argued for theorisations of the relationship between ageing and place which recognise the embodied and emplaced nature of experiences. To highlight these aspects of experience they proposed the term "embodied ageing in place" (Wiles and Allen, 2010, p. 217). Ageing occurs in specific contexts, and for the growing ageing population these contexts will be at the scale of urban neighbourhoods (Wiles and Allen, 2010). However, neighbourhoods are not simply pre-existing geographical units, but are constantly (re)made in everyday practices (Crouch, 2001), such as walking (Lee and Ingold, 2006). Such 'place making' practices are embodied and imaginative in nature. This refers to the role of the body and its senses, and one's remembered prior encounters in space in the (re)constituting of place experiences (e.g. Crouch, 2001; Pink, 2008).

With regard to older adults, the relation between the body and place making can be viewed from different angles (Skinner et al., 2014). From a physiological perspective, the older body can be said to be in a state of 'decline', which may imply a renegotiation of the body's relationship to neighbourhood space (Van Hoven and Douma, 2012). When the built environment does not support the body's 'inabilities', such as mobility impairments and a slower pace of walking, it can become difficult for older people to navigate urban space, which can result in feelings of environmental stress and marginalisation (e.g. Milligan et al., 2005; Van der Meer et al., 2008). From a social and cultural point of view, the older body is said to be inscribed with ageist discourses (e.g. Minichiello et al., 2000). Such discourses may influence older adults' feelings about ageing and their perception of the accessibility of places (Milligan et al., 2005; Mowl et al., 2000). Minichiello et al. (2000), for instance, found that some of their older participants withdrew from activities, as they felt younger people perceived them as slow.

The body has also been considered in relation to the "expressive and felt engagement" of practices and activities (Skinner et al., 2014, p. 14; Spinney, 2014). In relation to older adults, Rowles and Watkins (2003), argued that in the development of routine practices feelings about a place come into being. They contended that these routines have a physical, a social and an autobiographical component, which all contribute to a sense of 'insideness' or familiarity (Rowles and Watkins, 2003; see also Rowles, 1983). For older adults, the physical familiarity with a place (e.g. through knowing the cracks in the sidewalks through the haptic sense) can support the feeling of independence (Wiles et al., 2012). Golant, highlighted how feelings of independence, competence and control can contribute to older adults' "residential normalcy", which he conceptualised as "overall favorable or positive emotion-based residential experiences" (2011, p. 193). He furthermore contended that (un)pleasurable feelings, hassle-free/hassled feelings and good and bad memorable past feelings play a role in how older people experience place (Golant, 2011). Regarding the 'memorable past feelings', Rowles (1978), provided an interesting example of how these feelings can become embodied in the way older adults traverse and thereby 'make' neighbourhood space. The walk that one of his participants, Stan, made was not only shaped by avoiding cracks in the sidewalk, but also by Stan's nostalgic feelings of the local pubs he used to visit. In this vein, feelings can become "the movement of the body" (Lee and Ingold, 2006, p. 71).

The example of Stan also shows how places are made through the activity of walking. Lee and Ingold (2006) noted that: "the locomotive (or getting around) aspect of walking allows for an understanding of places being created by routes" (p. 68). The ways in which such routes come into being result from an interplay of the subjective dimensions of place and its 'objective' characteristics. The spatial structure of a neighbourhood, for instance, plays a role in how people get around and experience place (Sheller

and Urry, 2006). In sparsely populated North American suburbs (with a lack of appropriate public means of transportation), people are highly dependent on cars for transportation, which can be challenging for older adults who have difficulty driving or are unable to drive (Després and Lord, 2005). Not being able to get out of the house by oneself can lead to feelings of loneliness (Després and Lord, 2005). Factors related to urban deprivation, such as crime, may also influence older adults' feelings about their neighbourhood (e.g. Buffel et al., 2013; Smith, 2009; Ziegler, 2012) and the routes they choose to walk.
The above suggests that embodied ageing in place consists of different kinds of 'embodiments', and that the older adult is an active agent in 'making' place. However, not much is known about how older adults experience and make neighbourhood space through walking. This may be due to the predominance of stationary research methods in the 'geographies of ageing' literature (Skinner et al., 2014). Some authors have noted that health and mobility constraints impede older adults from participating in walking interviews (see Carpiano, 2009; Evans and Jones, 2011). Rowles (1978) and Gardner (2011), however, proved that it is feasible to walk with older adults in spite of mobility constraints. However, both authors made use of mixed methods so it is not clear what type of knowledge the walking interviews revealed about older adults' experiences and use of neighbourhood space. The next section shows how walking interviews contribute to understanding place experiences.

4.3 Understanding place experiences through walking interviews

> "being in motion is somehow different to being stationary, both in terms of the kinds of engagement with the world that it prompts, and the kinds of knowledge and identities that it therefore engenders." (Ricketts Hein et al., 2008, p. 1268)

The popularity of walking interviews and other mobile methods in geography coincides with non-representational theory's focus on "analysing the significance of practice and doing" in the constitution of place experiences (Spinney, 2014, p. 2). In 2003, Kusenbach proposed the 'go-along' method as a means to gain access to experiences as they unfold in place, combining the methods of sit-down interviews and participant observation. Through participant observation, the researcher is able to study people in their everyday environment (e.g. while walking in the neighbourhood), but these observations do not necessarily reveal people's experiences and feelings (Kusenbach, 2003). Sit-down interviews allow people to talk about their experiences, feelings and practices (Hitchings, 2012). However, several authors have argued that the narrative character of sit-down interviews can impede the access to the small details of everyday life that play a role in one's sense of place (e.g. Holton and Riley, 2014; Kusenbach, 2003; Trell and Van Hoven,

2010) and wellbeing (Ettema and Smajic, 2014).

Sit-down interviews may disconnect participants from their "routine experiences and practices in "natural" environments" (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 462), and this may restrict the knowledge gained on the place of investigation. Evans and Jones (2011), for instance, compared the knowledge obtained through in-depth interviews and walking interviews in a project about sense of place and urban regeneration. They found that the walking interviews revealed more place-specific stories about the neighbourhood than the sedentary interviews, in which the focus was on biographical narratives. Being in the place of investigation can also reveal the role the senses play in one's experiences (Ricketts Hein et al., 2008). A particular scent may, for instance, trigger a recollection of events and feelings from a certain place and time (Anderson, 2004; Van Hoven, 2011). In addition, being in place with the participant can provide a more embodied understanding of the research topic (Pink, 2007; Riley, 2010). In his research on farm life histories, Riley (2010) gives the example of how one of the participants demonstrated how to turn hay with a fork, something the participant found hard to explain without having the fork at hand. This illustration draws attention to the role of the researcher in the data collection process, who should "take[] practice[s] seriously" in understanding place experiences (Hubbard et al., 2002, p. 161 in discussing Thrift's notion of the geographer as an 'observant participant').

Several authors have contended that through walks traditional power relations of researcher/respondents can be overcome (Anderson, 2004; Carpiano, 2009; Van Hoven and Meijering, 2011), which can result in a more collaborative way of knowledge production (e.g. Anderson, 2004; Pink, 2008). Indeed, walks can allow a more informal and less confrontational way of interaction than sit-down interviews, which make participants feel at ease and make it easier for them to express themselves in everyday talk (Lee and Ingold, 2006). This can facilitate the gathering of knowledge about place experiences, as shown by Rowles, who felt that his participants "were eager to communicate their experiences more directly" (1978, p. 189) than they were in mental mapping exercises and diaries of daily activities. He therefore joined his participants in everyday activities, such as their routine walks around the neighbourhood. In the case of our research, participants were asked to conduct one of their routine walks so as to resemble, as closely as possible, their 'usual' experiences and use of their neighbourhood (Evans and Jones, 2011).

4.4 Research context and methodology

The research from which this articles draws was conducted in two neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, our research is not comparative in nature and in both neighbourhoods we explored different topics (see Lager et al., 2013; Lager et al., 2015). The neighbour-

hoods – the Oosterpark and Corpus den Hoorn – are located in Groningen, a city in the Northern Netherlands, with 198,395 inhabitants (Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2014). Groningen can be considered a typical European city in terms of its high population density (2504 inhabitants per square meter: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2013) and its radio-concentric spatial structure. The Oosterpark and Corpus den Hoorn is home to 11,575 and 4,432 residents respectively (Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2013). The Oosterpark, a working-class neighbourhood in the process of urban renewal, is located close to the city centre and dates from the 1930s (see Lager et al., 2013). The neighbourhood contains a variety of indoor meeting places, such as the multi-purpose buildings of the playground associations. Corpus den Hoorn was built between 1956 and 1960 as a self-contained neighbourhood, which is a type of neighbourhood built with a centre around which facilities and amenities are located. Nowadays, Corpus den Hoorn has a variety of shops that cater for the everyday needs of older residents, including a supermarket, a post office, a pharmacy and an optician. The Oosterpark, in contrast, had two supermarkets at the time of the interviews. Because of their compact spatial structure, the Oosterpark and Corpus den Hoorn can both be considered 'walkable' for older people[11]. Cycling and walking are common modes of transportation for short distances in the Netherlands, with its relatively flat landscape and high population density. Among the older population (65+), trips made on foot increase while bicycle use decreases as they age (Jorritsma and Olde Kalter, 2008).

A total of twelve walking interviews were conducted in the summer of 2012 and the spring of 2013. The participants were all white and of Dutch origin (see Table 4 for participants' characteristics). Before the walking interview, participants took part in a semi-structured interview conducted in their own home. The aim of the semi-structured interview was to elicit experiences, feelings and memories of everyday life in their neighbourhood. Following the semi-structured interviews, the participants were asked whether the principal researcher (Debbie Lager) could join them on one of their routine walks in order to obtain a better sense of their everyday life in the neighbourhood. The route, length, time of day and duration of the walk were determined by the participants who were requested to follow their routine walks as much as possible in order to minimise the risk of fatigue or injury. For participants' safety and health, the walking interviews were only conducted in good weather conditions (i.e. no snow, ice or rain, and neither too cold nor too hot). Walks under less favourable weather conditions could have provided additional knowledge of older adults' experiences and, in particular, barriers

[11] One of the indicators on the 'activities of daily living' scale, which is used by doctors to assess whether people are able to live in their own home and neighbourhood, is that one should be able to walk at least 400 meters (Paterson and Warburton, 2010). The Oosterpark and Corpus den Hoorn both span around 500-600 meters.

Name	Gender	Age	Length of residence in total	Neighbourhood	Mobility aids
Anna	F	65	45-50	Oosterpark	x
Aaltje[a]	F	66	35-40	Corpus den Hoorn	walker
Greetje	F	67	35-40	Oosterpark	x
Antje	F	68	40-45	Corpus den Hoorn	x
Dirk[b]	M	70	45-50	Oosterpark	x
Marinus	M	71	35-40	Oosterpark	x
Emma[a]	F	74	20-25	Corpus den Hoorn	x
Corrie	F	78	70-75	Oosterpark	x
Steventje	F	78	15-20	Corpus den Hoorn	x
Jantje	F	85	50-55	Corpus den Hoorn	walker
Hendrika	F	86	30-35	Corpus den Hoorn	walker
Petronella	F	87	0-5	Corpus den Hoorn	x

Table 4 Characteristics of the participants

[a] Aaltje and Emma are neighbours and were interviewed together

[b] The interview with Dirk was conducted while cycling

to traversing neighbourhood space. However, talking while walking and simultaneously navigating the urban environment can already be a challenge for people with balance disorders and visual or mobility impairments (Phillips et al., 2013), let alone adverse weather conditions.

The participant-led character of the walks led to some insecurity among respondents, who expressed concerns about whether the walk was interesting enough for the researcher and whether they were doing it correctly. In spite of these insecurities, all the respondents seemed to enjoy the walking interview in terms of acquainting the researcher with their neighbourhood and everyday life, which sheds light on the meaning of walking for their sense of place. However, we should note that of those who participated in the semi-structured interviews (30 in total), eighteen did not want to participate in the walking interviews. They indicated that they were not very mobile or fast and that the researcher should find more mobile participants, even though the researcher assured them that she would adjust to their pace of walking. The difference between the 'normal' mobile body of the researcher and the participants' less mobile and frail bodies may have fostered insecurities and led to the decision not to do the walk.

The interviews were audio recorded and the routes were recorded using Google My Tracks, which allowed the researcher to focus on observing the neighbourhood's so-

cial and physical realm and to monitor the participants' safety. The routes were used to identify exactly which elements prompted reactions (Van Hoven and Meijering, 2011) and to gain insight into the spatiality of participants' relationship with their neighbourhood. Participants' names and any other traceable information were changed to ensure anonymity. The audio recordings were transcribed and coded using qualitative data analysis software (NVivo8), applying thematic analysis (see Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Ethical approval for this research was obtained from the ethics committee of the Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen.

4.5 Walking with older adults in their neighbourhood

Before discussing the results, we will provide a brief overview of the participants' use of their local environment. In both neighbourhoods, most trips the participants undertook were made on foot and the majority walked on a daily basis. Most of these walks were destination-oriented, including trips to local shops, the bus stop and indoor meeting places, rather than walks for the sake of walking. The walking interviews revealed the experiential and felt dimensions of these –at first sight- mundane and functional walks (Lorimer, 2011). The routes the participants chose to walk for the interview offered rich insights in how 'embodied ageing in place' may be constituted in neighbourhood space. The remainder of this section is structured by the key themes that emerged from the walking interviews, and all relate to walking as a way of place making. These are: walking as the embodiment of feeling different, walking and making sociable neighbourhood space, and walking as 'a trip down memory lane'.

4.5.1 Walking as the embodiment of feeling different

Being in place with the participants revealed the challenges of negotiating their 'declining' body in relation to the built environment. Hugman (1999) argued that the built environment communicates processes of social exclusion, thereby "making a profound statement that people *here* are different" (p. 198, original emphasis). This difference was felt by the participants while walking through the neighbourhood. For the researcher, adjusting to participants' pace of walking gave a better insight into how feeling 'different' was embodied. This was particularly clear in the walks with two of the oldest participants, Jantje (female, 85) and Hendrika (female, 86), who both used walkers. Their reduced level of energy and sense of balance made the walk a tiring experience for them, which showed in their breathing. Standing in front of the senior apartment block where Hendrika lives, the researcher asked whether she was able to get on the kerb with her walker, as it seemed to cost her some effort. With both indignation and resignation in her voice, Hendrika answered:

> "Well it's okay. You can always walk straight through and cross the road over there [about 5 meters down the road], but they should have made a dropped kerb here. You are not going to walk over there, because you always have to go in the other direction because the shops are there. It's stupid, they should first consider what kind of people live here and act accordingly."

This quote highlights the place-specific knowledge that walking interviews are able to generate (Evans and Jones, 2011), in this case the particular kerb that Hendrika needed to 'conquer'. Hendrika's routine walk to the shopping centre, furthermore, shows how places are made by routes (Lee and Ingold, 2006). From a planner's perspective the dropped kerb may contribute to the built environment's age-friendliness. However, when such an element does not fit into older residents' routes and routines, this age-friendliness may not be felt and experienced.

Feelings of being different for our respondents were also evoked by elements in the built environment that signified how the 'able-bodied' seemed to be unaware of older and frail residents' physical abilities (Matthews et al., 2003). In Corpus den Hoorn, at the initiative of a group of residents, an artwork was installed at one of the fringes of the neighbourhood which is supposed to act as a meeting place for residents as well as a place to enjoy the view over the adjacent canal (see Figure 7). The money for this project was made available by the 'New Local Agreement', a collaboration between the municipality and local housing corporations aimed at increasing resident participation and social cohesion in the urban renewal neighbourhoods. With anger and indignation, Petronella (female, 87) pointed at the inaccessibility of the artwork (known by residents as the 'watchtower') for older people:

> **Petronella**: Look, there is the watchtower. The residents could think of something for the neighbourhood and it's paid for by the municipality. But look, the path is very steep and you [young people] can walk up there, but you don't want a watchtower. They made some ridges for going up, but how can you go down again?
> **Interviewer**: It seems difficult to me to go up there with a walker.
> **Petronella**: It's completely impossible!

Moved by her indignation and anger Petronella indicated that she did not want to walk to the artwork (being about 50 metres away from us) and we continued with walking and talking about another topic. Petronella's indignation at the inaccessibility of the artwork for older residents unveils the embodiment and emplacement of feeling excluded, to some extent, from neighbourhood space.

Figure 7 Artwork in Corpus den Hoorn: watchtower and meeting place for neighbourhood residents (photo: Debbie Lager).

In spite of these negative experiences, the act of walking had positive connotations for the participants. During the walks, they all indicated that walking in old age is necessary in order to keep active and to prevent "becoming as stiff as a door" (Corrie, female, 78). Walkability literature stresses the health benefits of walking for older people (e.g. Wang and Lee, 2010; King et al., 2011) and so walking forms part of active ageing discourses. However, these activity discourses can impede a more nuanced view of bodily mobility in old age. Due to a chronic illness, for example, Antje (female, 68) makes use of a shared cab (a subsidised travel scheme) when she is in too much pain to walk. She expressed uneasiness about her use of the shared cab in terms of how other residents might perceive a discrepancy between her active (walking) and dependent (being driven) behaviour:

> "I realise, now that I'm walking here with you [the researcher], that I still feel guilty about using the shared cab. Then I think, there are people who see me here [and disapprove]. But there are also people who say: "she got a good deal, a shared cab is much cheaper than having a car." I know people in the neighbourhood who think like this. (…) I didn't get a deal, I had many reservations about applying for [the shared cab scheme]."

This quote shows that there are certain norms and expectations of how old age should be performed. In this case, there seems to be a fixed dichotomy of either being active and

healthy or being ill and dependent. Moving between these categories, as Antje does, does not seem to match people's expectations of how old age should be performed. These norms may to a certain extent become embodied and "incorporated into individuals' subjectivity" (Holt, 2008, p. 240), thereby evoking feelings of difference during walks in the neighbourhood.

4.5.2 Walking and making sociable neighbourhood space

Lee and Ingold (2006) contended that "[w]alking around is fundamental to the everyday practice of social life" (p. 67). In later life, walking in the neighbourhood may be particularly important in conferring social life as one's action radius may decrease and health and mobility related issues impede one's use of other modes of mobility, such as the bicycle and the car. Interestingly, we found that making the neighbourhood a sociable place was much more salient in the walks with the participants in Corpus den Hoorn. The routes they chose to walk were informed by a need for sociability, which became clear in the places they visited during their walk, such as the shops at the square, and in their talk, which focused on the present social fabric of the neighbourhood. After having a chat with passers-by, participants would always proudly emphasise the sociable character of their walks to the researcher:

> **Antje**: Hello! I'm doing an interview as an on older person in the neighbourhood and she [the researcher] wants to know where I walk.
> **Passer-by**: That's nice.
> **Antje:** He [the passer-by] lived in the same apartment block as I did. She [the researcher] asks me: 'how do you know this person?'. Well, we were neighbours. He had two dogs, and now one dog. How are you doing? [talking to the passer-by]
> **Passer-by**: Good, good. See you, bye!
> **Antje**: See [talking to the researcher], that's how you have a chat. Sometimes I see him here, that's very nice.

Gardner (2011), noticed a ""spring in [participants'] step"" (p. 266) when they were in pleasurable and sociable places. In a somewhat similar vein, during the walks the researcher noticed how the participants' proudness of their social contacts was embodied by their faces lighting up and the straightening of their back. In the Oosterpark participants were greeting and were greeted by passers-by, but they did not show such noticeable reactions. During the walks in the Oosterpark, participants were focused more on showing the researcher past neighbourhood life (on which we elaborate in the next section).

It may be that the participants in Corpus den Hoorn were more focused on the

neighbourhood's present social atmosphere as they had had more social contacts and activities outside of the neighbourhood when they were younger, and before the time their mobility started to decrease (Lager et al., 2015). In contrast, for the Oosterpark participants the neighbourhood had been their central setting of experience throughout their life course, even when they had jobs, as most of their social contacts and activities took place within the neighbourhood (Lager et al., 2013). For the participants in Corpus den Hoorn, the neighbourhood as a social space seemed to have gained importance as they got older. Especially the social contacts with shop personnel and familiar others turned out to be highly valued by the participants (see also Gardner, 2011). While queuing at the checkout of the supermarket, the researcher asked Aaltje whether she knew the staff. Aaltje replied:

> "I know them ... that's nice when you get older. When you are young you are busy with your own things, but when you get older it's nice to just have a chat. I think it has to do with getting older.... My mother always used to say, 'You can smile and greet people, it doesn't cost a thing.' I didn't greet people then [when I was young], I wasn't a fool. But now, I even talk to a blade of grass."

The importance of the local environment for participants' social contacts in Corpus den Hoorn seemed to translate into place making strategies for seeing and meeting other people on a daily basis. The majority of participants would spread the tasks on their to-do list over the course of the week in order to have a reason to walk to the square where they could enjoy people's presence and have an occasional chat (see also Lager et al., 2015). Walking with the participants showed the emplacement of sociability in the materiality of the neighbourhood. This is exemplified by Jantje (female, 85), who pointed to a bench close to a supermarket, which represented sociability to her:

> "I always go grocery shopping here [supermarket at the square], then I also have a purpose, every day I get some groceries. Then I also meet this woman who is waiting for her taxi and I will sit next to her, which provides us both some companionship [*gezelligheid* in Dutch]."

This quote also stresses the importance of local shops as a reason for going out of the home. In a similar vein, Day (2008) found that in a neighbourhood with few local services, the participants would not walk around the neighbourhood much, and indicated that they had no reason to do so. In this light, purposive walking, which Wunderlich (2008, p. 131) describes as being of a "constant rhythmical and rapid pace" and which is focused on arrival at a particular destination, has a different meaning to older people. The partici-

pants' walking rhythms were characterized by stops to have a short chat with passers-by (i.e. stillness incorporated in movement, see Cresswell, 2011) and there seemed to be no hurry in their pace of walking. When resting places, such as benches, are placed along residents' routes they can facilitate these social interactions in the neighbourhood, thereby providing older adults' need "to feel noticed and be visible in the world" (Gardner, 2011, p. 268).

4.5.3 Walking as 'a trip down memory lane'

The walking interviews also highlighted how the neighbourhood can be a place that is experienced by the participants as "soaked in affective connections" (Jones and Evans, 2012, p. 2315). We specifically encountered this in the Oosterpark where participants planned a walk that took the researcher along places of their past, thereby literally making a trip down memory lane. The experiential dimension of the walks was focused on memorable past feelings of childhood and the Second World War and, most notably, a sense of community that used to be there in the past. It may not be surprising that walking through the neighbourhood evoked such memorable past feelings, as all the participants had lived in the Oosterpark for over 35 years (see Table 4). However, for those participants living in Corpus den Hoorn, walking through the neighbourhood did not evoke any allusions to past neighbourhood life. As we indicated in the previous section, the Oosterpark had been participants' central setting of experience throughout their life course and this may, in part, explain such reference to past neighbourhood life.

The changes in the social atmosphere that participants experienced in the Oosterpark (Lager et al., 2013), may further explain their trip down memory lane. By means of these walks, they can relive and feel the sense of community that used to be there in the past. Walking in the neighbourhood revealed the spatial character of remembering (Degnen, 2005) the lost sense of community, since all of the memories were prompted by the sight of houses, buildings, parks and streets. Anna (female, 65), when walking past the canal near her home, remarked:

> "It was [so] much fun here, everyone knew each other. There were people swimming here in the Van Starkenborgh canal. And people would [bring] a chair [to] the embankment in summer. They would take a thermos with tea and would sit there, and there were youngsters playing soccer."

Degen and Rose (2012) argued that memories influence the ways in which people experience the built environment and make meaning of places in the present. This also became clear in the accounts of the participants. Greetje (female, 67), for instance, talked a great deal about the 'sense of community' in the street where she used to live and

Figure 8 Fence between two apartment blocks in the Oosterpark (photo: Debbie Lager).

how everyone would just enter each other's houses through the back door instead of ringing the front doorbell. For Greetje, the fences that were put up between the houses some time ago represented the loss of this sense of community (see Figure 8). Seeing the fences during the walk, Greetje made these remarks:

> **Greetje**: They [the housing corporation] put fences between the houses everywhere. It probably is necessary but it does not make it very cosy [*gezellig*]. I don't like it.
> **Interviewer**: Because you can't go behind all the houses?
> **Greetje**: Yes, with my bicycle I could cycle behind all the houses in the street. I don't know why but it's cosy. Especially in the summer, you see people then.

Interestingly, the walking interviews revealed that participants' walking practices were also a means for keeping this sense of community alive. The 'trip down memory lane' was not just a single event enacted for the researcher. Moved by feelings of nostalgia, Marinus (male, 71), for instance, would often get together with neighbourhood friends to visit the street where he used to live. In this street, there were riots on New Year's Eve 1997[12], and

[12] During these riots youths smashed the windows of a local politician's home, raided two houses and pelted the fire brigade with stones (Zijlstra, 1998).

Marinus would visit the street to remember the good times before the riots. Standing in this particular street, Marinus remarked:

> **Marinus**: There was so much going on here in this place … You ran into each other every day and had a chat. That's the way it was. Later on, it changed. Nothing is left [of that nice atmosphere].
> **Interviewer**: So now that all has disappeared, do you still feel at home when you walk here?
> **Marinus**: Yes I do, I come here often. With my friends, I have a look here and then you start talking about what happened. And then it all comes back, you know, the good times.

This quote illustrates what Degnen (2005) referred to as the practiced nature of memories, which emerge in conversations and in this case also in visiting the place in question. In contrast to Marinus, Greetje usually avoided the street where she used to live as it was too painful for her to be confronted with the memories of the good contacts she had had with neighbours, something which she did not experience anymore. Although the participants did not make these trips down memory lane on a daily basis, they can be seen as a "conscious writing" (Holton and Riley, 2014, p. 64) and emplacement of themselves in the history of the neighbourhood through which they may be able to negotiate a sense of belonging through neighbourhood change (Lager et al., 2013).

4.6 Conclusions

This paper explored the subjective dimensions of older adults' use of neighbourhood space by using walking interviews. We adopted the notion of 'embodied ageing in place' (Wiles and Allen, 2010) to highlight the interplay of the body, self and place in how older adults experience and make use of their neighbourhood. Some authors have stressed the experiential and felt dimensions of walking practices (Andrews et al., 2012; Hockey et al., 2013); with this paper we have provided empirical evidence of this view. Through walking interviews, we gained insight into the spatiality of older adults' engagement with neighbourhood space and how walking acts as a way of place making (Lee and Ingold, 2006). We showed that this place making is an embodied and emplaced process, which bears physical, social and autobiographical components (Rowles and Watkins, 2003). The experiential and felt dimensions of place making moved the participants in the routes they chose to walk, their walking rhythms and the ways in which they embodied their feelings. The specific character of place making may be contingent on older adults' engagement with the neighbourhood over their life course. On the one hand, we showed that for older people who began to spend more time in their neighbourhood when their

action radius started to decrease, the need for sociability in their local area informed their experiences and use of their neighbourhood. On the other hand, for those who had spent most of their life in the neighbourhood, walking acted as an important way of reliving past neighbourhood life.

Our findings offer some new perspectives for thinking about and designing age-friendly neighbourhoods. The walks highlighted how places are made and experienced through routes (Lee and Ingold, 2006). It is important to identify the routes older residents walk in their neighbourhood in order to improve the walkability of these routes. As we showed, age-friendliness may not be experienced and felt by older people, when age-friendly elements do not adhere to how a neighbourhood is used. Improving the walkability of neighbourhoods involves facilitating older adults' purposive walking. It is important to note that this includes allowing for a walking rhythm that is characterised by stops for rests and social encounters (see Cresswell, 2011) and sufficient local shops and services, which give older people a purpose to go out of the home and to walk in the neighbourhood. Consideration should also be given to the question of whether there is a need amongst older residents to retain affective connections with past neighbourhood life. Particularly for neighbourhoods undergoing change, retaining elements in the built environment which prompt such affective connections could instil a sense of continuity and belonging in the face of neighbourhood change as well as support the wellbeing of older adults (Jones and Evans, 2012).

The variety of affective engagement with neighbourhood space requires place sensitivity in designing age-friendly neighbourhoods. Walking interviews are a useful tool for obtaining place-specific information on why and where older people walk. Wunderlich (2008) argued that "we need to understand and explore walking as a design method in its own right that can inform the theory and practice of place-design" (p. 138). Adjusting to older adults embodied practices by the means of walking could result in more empathy for this group as well as a better understanding of how the urban environment can be more supportive to their needs (see also Spinney, 2014). Joining residents' everyday walks in their neighbourhood could also be a way to connect with vulnerable older people, who tend to be excluded from public engagement in planning processes (Hockey et al., 2013). Increasing numbers of older people with dementia are ageing in place and it will be particularly important for this group of people that the neighbourhood environment supports their physical, social and cognitive needs (Skinner et al., 2014).

Not much is yet known about the wellbeing effects of walking and how places may foster or hinder such wellbeing effects (Ettema and Smajic, 2014). With this paper, we revealed that walking in the neighbourhood can evoke a sense of exclusion, memorable past feelings (both nostalgic and painful), and a sense a proudness of one's social

encounters. These experienced and felt dimensions of neighbourhood space show that walking in later life is not only about active ageing, but is entwined with the "emotional-spatial dynamics and place embedded nature of relationships, identities, and experiences in older age" (Skinner et al., 2014, p. 17). Whether neighbourhoods and communities support positive residential experiences (Golant, 2011) is an issue of social justice and "strongly connected with an understanding of the phenomenon of ageism" (Day, 2010, p. 2671). More research is needed to explore older adults' experiences of other modes of mobility, how these experiences influence their use of places, and how mobile methods can aid in understanding these processes.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the respondents for sharing with us the routes of their past and present lives in their neighbourhoods. We would also like to thank Koen Salemink for his feedback in the early stages of this paper. This research would not have been possible without the financial support of the Ubbo Emmius Fund.

References

Anderson, J., 2004. Talking whilst walking: a geographical archaeology of knowledge Area 36, 254-261.

Andrews, G.J., Hall, E., Evans, B., Colls, R., 2012. Moving beyond walkability: On the potential of health geography. Social Science & Medicine 75, 1925-1932.

Banister, D., Bowling, A., 2004. Quality of life for the elderly: the transport dimension. Transport Policy 11, 105-115.

Bergeron, J., Paquette, S., Poullaouec-Gonidec, P., 2014. Uncovering landscape values and micro-geographies of meanings with the go-along method. Landscape and Urban Planning 122, 108-121.

Buffel, T., Phillipson, C., Scharf, T., 2013. Experiences of neighbourhood exclusion and inclusion among older people living in deprived inner-city areas in Belgium and England. Ageing & Society 33 (1), 89-109.

Carpiano, R.M., 2009. Come take a walk with me: The "Go-Along" interview as a novel method for studying the implications of place for health and well-being. Health & Place 15, 263-272.

Cele, S., 2006. Communicating place, methods for understanding children's experiences of place. PhD thesis, Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University.

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2013. Demografische kerncijfers per gemeente 2013. http://www.cbs.nl/NR/rdonlyres/63B0697F-F8B0-4AC0-A4E569EB567D4CAC/0/2013b55pub.pdf

Cresswell, T., 2012. Mobilities II: Still. Progress in Human Geography 36, 645-653.

Crouch, D., 2001. Spatialities and the feeling of doing. Social & Cultural Geography 2, 61-75.

Day, R., 2008. Local environments and older people's health: Dimensions from a comparative qualitative study in Scotland. Health & Place 14, 299-312.

Day, R., 2010. Environmental justice and older age: consideration of a qualitative neighbourhood-based study. Environment and Planning A 42, 2658-2673.

Degnen, C., 2005. Relationality, place, and absence: a three-dimensional perspective on social memory. The Sociological review 53 (4), 729-744.

Després, C., Lord, S., 2005. Growing Older in Postwar Suburbs: The Meanings and Experiences of Home. In: Rowles, G.D., Chaudbury, H. (Eds.) Home and Identity in Late Life. Springer, New York, pp. 317-342.

Duff, C., 2010. On the role of affect and practice in the production of place. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 28 (5), 881-895.

Elwood, S.A., Martin, D.G., 2000. "Placing" Interviews: Location and Scales of Power in Qualitative Research. The Professional Geographer 52, 649-657.

Ettema, D., Smajic, I., 2014. Walking, places and wellbeing. The Geographical Journal DOI: 10.1111/geoj.12065

Evans, J., Jones, P., 2011. The walking interview: Methodology, mobility and place. Applied Geography 31, 849-858.

Fobker, S., Grotz, R., 2006. Everyday Mobility of Elderly People in Different Urban Settings: The Example of the City of Bonn, Germany. Urban Studies 43, 99-118.

Gardner, P.J., 2011. Natural neighborhood networks — Important social networks in the lives of older adults aging in place. Journal of Aging Studies 25 (3), 263-271.

Golant, S.M., 2011. The quest for residential normalcy by older adults: Relocation but one pathway. Journal of Aging Studies 25, 193-205.

Hitchings, R., 2012. People can talk about their practices. Area 44, 61-67.

Hockey, A., Phillips, J., Walford, N., 2013. Planning for an Ageing Society: Voices from the Planning Profession. Planning Practice & Research 28, 527-543.

Holt, L., 2008. Embodied social capital and geographic perspectives: performing the habitus. Progress in Human Geography 32 (2), 227-246.

Holton, M., Riley, M., 2014. Talking on the move: place-based interviewing with undergraduate students. Area 46, 59-65.

Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R., Bartley, B., Fuller, D., 2002. Thinking Geographically. Continuum, London.

Hugman, R., 1999. Embodying Old Age. In: Teather, E.K. (Ed.) Embodied geographies: spaces, bodies and rites of passage. Routledge, London/New York, pp. 193-207.

Hutabarat Lo, R., 2009. Walkability: what is it?. Journal of Urbanism: International

Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability 2, 145-166.

Jones, P., Evans, J., 2012. Rescue Geography: Place Making, Affect and Regeneration. Urban Studies 49 (11), 2315-2330.

Jorritsma, P., Olde Kalter, M., 2008. Grijs op reis. Over de mobiliteit van ouderen [Grey travel. About the mobility of older people]. Kennisinstituut voor Mobiliteitsbeleid, Den Haag.

King, A.C., Sallis, J.F., Frank, L.D., Saelens, B.E., Cain, K., Conway, T.L., Chapman, J.E., Ahn, D.K., Kerr, J., 2011. Aging in neighborhoods differing in walkability and income: Associations with physical activity and obesity in older adults. Social Science & Medicine 73, 1525-1533.

Kitchin, R., Tate, N.J., 2000. Conducting Research into Human Geography. Pearson Education Limited, Harlow.

Kusenbach, M., 2003. Street Phenomenology: The Go-Along as Ethnographic Research Tool. Ethnography 4 (3), 455-485.

Lee, J., Ingold, T., 2006. Fieldwork on Foot: Perceiving, Routing, Socializing. In: Collins, P., Coleman, S. (Eds.) Locating the Field: Space, Place and Context in Anthropology. Berg, Oxford, pp. 67-85.

Lorimer, H., 2011. Walking: New Forms and Spaces for Studies of Pedestrianism. In: Cresswell, T., Merriman, P. (Eds.) Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects. Ashgate, Farnham, pp. 19-33.

Matthews, H., Beale, L., Picton, P., Briggs, D., 2003. Modelling Access with GIS in Urban Systems (MAGUS): capturing the experiences of wheelchair users. Area 35, 34-45.

Milligan, C., Bingley, A., Gatrell, A., 2005. 'Healing and Feeling': The Place of Emotions in Later Life. In: Davidson, J., Bondi, L., Smith, M. (Eds.) Emotional Geographies. Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 49-62.

Minichiello, V., Browne, J., Kendig, H., 2000. Perceptions and consequences of ageism: views of older people. Ageing & Society 20 (3), 253-278.

Mowl, G., Pain, R., Talbot, C., 2000. The ageing body and the homespace. Area 32, 189 – 197.

Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2014, "Gronometer", http://groningen.buurtmonitor.nl

Paterson, D., Warburton, D., 2010. Physical activity and functional limitations in older adults: a systematic review related to Canada's Physical Activity Guidelines. International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity 7, 1-22.

Phillips, J., Walford, N., Hockey, A., Foreman, N., Lewis, M., 2013. Older people and outdoor environments: Pedestrian anxieties and barriers in the use of familiar and unfamiliar spaces. Geoforum 47, 113-124.

Pink, S., 2007. Walking with video. Visual Studies 22, 240-252.

Pink, S., 2008. An urban tour: The sensory sociality of ethnographic place-making. Ethnography 9, 175-196.

Ricketts Hein, J., Evans, J., Jones, P., 2008. Mobile Methodologies: Theory, Technology and Practice. Geography Compass 2, 1266-1285.

Riley, M., 2010. Emplacing the Research Encounter: Exploring Farm Life Histories. Qualitative Inquiry 16, 651-662.

Rowles, G.D., 1978. Prisoners of Space? Exploring the Geographical Experience of Older People. Westview Press, Colorado.

Rowles, G.D., Watkins, J.F., 2003. History, Habit, Heart and Hearth: On Making Spaces into Places. In: Warner Schaie, K., Wahl, H.-., Mollenkopf, H., Oswald, F. (Eds.) Aging Independently. Living Arrangements and Mobility. Springer Publishing Company, New York, pp. 77-96.

Sheller, M., Urry, J., 2006. The new mobilities paradigm. Environment and Planning A 38, 207-226.

Skinner, M., Cloutier, D., Andrews, G., 2014. Geographies of ageing: Progress and possibilities after two decades of change. Progress in Human Geography DOI:10.1177/0309132514558444

Smith, A.E., 2009. Ageing in Urban Neighbourhoods. Place attachment and social exclusion. The Policy Press, Bristol.

Spinney, J., 2014. Close encounters? Mobile methods, (post)phenomenology and affect. Cultural Geographies, DOI: 10.1177/1474474014558988

Sunderland, N., Bristed, H., Gudes, O., Boddy, J., Da Silva, M., 2012. What does it feel like to live here? Exploring sensory ethnography as a collaborative methodology for investigating social determinants of health in place. Health & Place 18, 1056-1067.

Trell, E.M., Van Hoven, B., 2010. Making sense of place: exploring creative and (inter) active research methods with young people. Fennia 188 (1), 91-104.

Van Cauwenberg, J., Van Holle, V., de Bourdeaudhuij, I., Clarys, P., Nasar, J., Salmon, J., Maes, L., Goubert, L., Van de Weghe, N., Deforche, B., 2014. Physical Environmental Factors that Invite Older Adults to Walk for Transportation. Journal of Environmental Psychology 38, 94-103.

Van der Meer, M., Droogleever Fortuijn, J., Thissen, F., 2008. Vulnerability and environmental stress of older adults in deprived neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie 99 (1), 53-64.

Van Hoven, B., 2011. Multi-sensory tourism in the Great Bear Rainforest. Landabréfrid 25, 31-49.

Van Hoven, B., Douma, L., 2012. 'We make ourselves at home wherever we are' - Older people's placemaking in Newton Hall. European Spatial Research and Policy 19 (1),

65-80.
Van Hoven, B., Meijering, L., 2011. On the Ground. In: Del Casino, V.J., Thomas, M.E., Cloke, P., Panelli, R. (Eds.) A Companion to Social Geography. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, pp. 161-180.
Waitt, G., Gill, N., Head, L., 2009. Walking practice and suburban nature-talk. Social & Cultural Geography 10, 41-60.
Wang, Z., Lee, C., 2010. Site and neighborhood environments for walking among older adults. Health & Place 16, 1268-1279.
Wiles, J.L., Allen, R.E.S., 2010. Embodied ageing in place: what does it mean to grow old?. In: Chouinard, V., Hall, E., Wilton, R. (Eds.) Towards enabling geographies: "disabled" bodies and minds in society and space. Ashgate, Farnham, pp. 217-235.
Wiles, J.L., Leibing, A., Guberman, N., Reeve, J., Allen, R.E.S., 2012. The Meaning of "Aging in Place" to Older People. The Gerontologist 52 (3), 357-366.
Wunderlich, F.M., 2008. Walking and Rhythmicity: Sensing Urban Space. Journal of Urban Design 13, 125-139.
Ziegler, F., 2012. "You have to engage with life, or life will go away": An intersectional life course analysis of older women's social participation in a disadvantaged urban area. Geoforum 43, 1296-1305.
Zijlstra, R., 1998. De gebeurtenissen op een rij. Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, 29 January.

Chapter 5

Rhythms, ageing and neighbourhoods[13]

Abstract. To demonstrate the potential of time in understanding older adults' experiences of place, this paper draws attention to the everyday temporal dimensions of ageing in urban neighbourhoods. In this qualitative research, we utilise Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* (2004) to illustrate how the rhythmic orderings of people and place come into being and can affect their sense of time. The findings reveal how the contrasting daily rhythms of the older respondents and younger residents emphasise the slowness of the rhythms of later life. To counteract the negative connotations of these slowed rhythms, respondents sought temporal anchors that would enable them to experience daily life in their neighbourhood as eventful. That the rhythms of older and younger residents were not synchronised in time and space resulted in experiencing a 'generational divide' that emphasised respondents' stasis in the neighbourhood. Our findings suggest that the everyday rhythms linked to ageing can evoke a sense of 'otherness' within a neighbourhood. In future decades, a challenge for societies will be to prevent neighbourhoods from becoming ensembles in which older adults feel out of rhythm and out of place.

Keywords: ageing in place, rhythm, sense of time, qualitative methods, urban neighbourhoods.

[13] This chapter is reprinted from: Lager, D., Van Hoven B., Huigen P.P.P., Rhythms, ageing and neighbourhoods, and has been submitted to an international peer-reviewed journal.

5.1 Introduction

In geographical research, little explicit attention has generally been paid to the temporal dimensions of sociospatial phenomena (Kwan, 2013; Schwanen and Kwan, 2012). However, more "temporally integrated geographies" could, as Kwan (2013, p. 1078) contends, yield new insights into many issues, such as ethnic segregation and accessibility, that have been examined by geographers for decades. In this vein, Schwanen et al. (2012b), in their call for geographers to have a more sustained engagement with ageing and old age, argued for systematically including 'time' in order to enhance understandings of older adults' engagement with place. To demonstrate the potential of 'time' in understanding older adults' experiences of place, this paper draws attention to the temporal dimensions of ageing in urban neighbourhoods.

Time has been regarded as a component of older adults' attachment to place, in which familiarity with a place establishes itself through length of residence in the community (see Cutchin, 2001; Rowles, 1978; Rowles, 1983). As a result, the relationship between older adults and place is not understood as "merely contextual snapshots or temporally static episodes" but as "frames of an ongoing environmental movie" (Golant, 2003, p. 639). Research in this field has highlighted how familiarity with the physical and social structure of their neighbourhood is important for older adults' wellbeing as it confers a sense of belonging and independence (e.g. Gardner, 2011; Rowles and Watkins, 2003; Wiles et al., 2012). Such work has gained currency as a result of Western governments' ageing-in-place policies, which are aimed at enabling the older population to live independently for as long as possible. These policies stress that it is in the best interest of older adults, if they can, to remain in their own home and neighbourhood, as these places are familiar and predictable to them (e.g. Blok and Van Rijn, 2014; VROMRaad, 2005). However, some recent studies have drawn attention to the roles that other dimensions of time play in the ageing and place relationship, such as timing (i.e. synchronisation of activities) and sense of time (see Bildtgard and Oberg, 2015; Lager et al., 2015; Lee, 2014; Stjernborg et al., 2014). For instance, in some earlier work, we found that the differences in the daily time geographies of our older respondents and their younger neighbours were an obstacle to developing social capital in the neighbourhood (see Lager et al., 2015). The ways in which people value their time and places are captured in the habitual routines and behaviours that make up the everyday (see Highmore, 2002). Hence, greater knowledge of these everyday temporalities could enhance the understanding of how older adults experience daily life in their neighbourhood.

In this paper, we focus on rhythm in understanding the experiential dimension of ageing in urban neighbourhoods. We draw on Henri Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* (2004) to gain insight into the role of multiple rhythms – social, non-human, corporeal,

mobile and institutionally inscribed – in older adults' experiences of daily life in their neighbourhood. Rhythmanalysis highlights the entwinement and dynamism of time and space: "everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 15). Lefebvre's work has been influential in a small, but growing, body of geographical research (see Cronin, 2006; Edensor, 2010; Edensor and Holloway, 2008; McCormack, 2002; Mels, 2004b; Middleton, 2009; Schwanen et al., 2012a; Simpson, 2008). Research in this vein has highlighted how rhythm is "an important constituent of the experience and organisation of social time" (Edensor, 2010, p. 1). Middleton (2009), for instance, found how 'being out of sync' with the normative walking rhythms of a locality can give insight into how people position themselves in relation to place. Considering old age, Schwanen and Kwan contended that it is likely that the "tempo of everyday life is lower, everyday activities are sequenced and timed in different ways" (2012, p. 2044). Relative to the fast pace of people rushing to work, these slower 'rhythms of later life' may have implications for older adults' sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and experiences of social exclusion and inclusion.

This paper investigates rhythm in older (aged 65 and above) adults' accounts of daily life in their neighbourhood. For this purpose, we draw on qualitative fieldwork conducted in the city of Groningen in the north of the Netherlands. To demonstrate the use of rhythmanalysis in understanding experiences of ageing in urban neighbourhoods, we first briefly discuss prevailing theories regarding the experiential dimensions of the relationship between older adults and place. We then consider how rhythmanalysis can contribute to understanding experiences of ageing in urban neighbourhoods. Following this, we introduce the research context and methodology. The analysis focuses on the daily, weekly and seasonal rhythmic orderings of the respondents' daily lives and, therein, their sense of time.

5.2 Older adults' experiences of place: theoretical approaches

In the 1970s, the foundations were laid for understanding the experiential dimensions of older adults' relationship with place. Rowles' research (1978; 1983) has been highly influential in the theoretical development of this person-environment relationship. He developed the notion of physical, social and autobiographical 'insideness' in order to gain insight into how older people's attachment to place may be constituted. This insideness, or sense of familiarity, is developed over time through spatial routines and habits, through social integration in the community and through the accumulation of memorable events within a place (Rowles, 1983). Rowles deemed autobiographical insideness particularly important for the way in which older adults deal with neighbourhood transitions. The remembrance of events and one's life in the community can induce a sense of belonging and continuity in times of change.

Rowles' research suggests that older adults' attachment to place develops over time and that this process involves experiences of continuity and discontinuity. This is made explicit in the 'experience-based life course model of being in place', in which Rowles and Watkins (2003) stress the accumulation of experiences over the life course that result in the older individual becoming attuned to their environment. They hypothesise that environmental changes, such as a move to a care home, can disrupt the continuity of environmental experience. To again experience congruence with place requires the 'remaking of place' through transferring one's 'insideness' to the new or changed place. This could, as an example, include the transfer of personal possessions to a new home and the memories of past places. In a similar vein, Cutchin's (2001) model of place integration emphasises how people's interactions with places are in constant flux and require continuous negotiation in order to establish and maintain a sense of continuity and belonging. Cutchin, however, argued that Rowles' focus on memories and past experiences in older people's place attachment "needs to be extended to include the sense of *what person and place can become* in the face of current affairs and problems" (2001, p. 35, original emphasis). For instance, when faced with decreasing health and mobility, the expectations as to whether one can continue to live independently in the community may change the experience of place.

Both Rowles' and Cutchin's theorisations focus on changes within the person-environment relationship that may challenge older adults' sense of belonging and familiarity. Research in this area has considered how older adults experience and deal with neighbourhood transitions (e.g. Buffel et al., 2013; Lager et al., 2013; Phillipson et al., 2001; Ziegler, 2012) and the ways in which they make decisions about moving (e.g. Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Ogg, 2014; Peace et al., 2011). However, we would argue that focussing on discontinuities and continuities when interpreting older adults' engagement with place can only partially explain how they experience daily life in their neighbourhood. We believe that including rhythm in the considerations will lead to a more comprehensive understanding of older adults' experiences of ageing in urban neighbourhoods.

5.3 Rhythmic ensembles, orderings and qualities

In this section, we will elaborate on why we believe rhythm to be important in understanding experiences of ageing in urban neighbourhoods. As Elden in his introduction to *Rhythmanalysis* noted, rhythm is "a *tool* of analysis rather than just an *object* of it" (2004, p. xii, original emphasis). Below, we discuss how the rhythmic ensembles of neighbourhoods are constituted and how the temporal orderings of these places come into being. To understand how older adults' experience time, we, furthermore, address how rhythms acquire their quality.

In *Rhythmanalysis*, Lefebvre (2004) stressed the multiplicity and intersection of

rhythms that form the polyrhythmic ensembles of urban street life through observing a Parisian road junction from his apartment's window. May and Thrift (2001) noted that these 'timespaces' are practiced (see also Crang, 2001), or as Mels put it: "human beings have always been rhythm-makers as much as place-makers" (2004a, p. 3). Thus, places are not static pre-existing entities but are continually (re)made through the intersection of multiple rhythms (Edensor, 2010). Crang highlighted the making of neighbourhood timespace through rhythms:

> "Neighbourhoods are comprised of multiple routines and rhythms that may form a compatible or clashing whole, as the different, remediating, tempos, timings, and durations come together" (2007, p. 2419)

As this quote further shows, the polyrhythmic ensembles of a neighbourhood can, on the one hand, be configured as a compatible whole, in which different routines and rhythms are aligned with each other, but can, on the other hand, be in discord. This is what Lefebvre refers to as eurhythmia (rhythms being associated) and arrhythmia (in which rhythms "break apart, alter and bypass *synchronisation*") (2004, p. 67, original emphasis). Everyday life usually involves eurhythmic ordering, in which activities are carried out in a habitual and routine manner in familiar places of work, shopping, commuting, leisure and so on. These places each have their own 'place-ballets' that are constituted by the time-space routines of people, and present opportunities for face-to-face encounter (see Jacobs, 1961; Seamon, 1980). The nature of place-ballets can vary over the course of the day depending on the area's functions (e.g. residential, commercial, retail) (Temelová and Novák, 2011). In the early morning, the streets of a commercial district may be crowded with people rushing to work, whereas in the evenings they are deserted. According to Lefebvre and Régulier, all these moments have "a strong significance" (2004, p. 102): they show which rhythms are, and can be, synchronised in place (see also Hagerstrand, 1970). Hagestad and Uhlenberg (2005) observe that the sociospatial separation of age groups in Western societies, for instance in places of education, work and leisure, influence when and where age groups' activities can co-occur.

The everyday relies upon the "synchronisation of practices that become part of how 'we' get things done", thereby conferring "an ontological predictability and security" (Edensor, 2010, p. 8). Given its normality, the everyday does not easily reveal the mechanisms through which rhythms are ordered. In aiming to understand the ordering of places' everyday rhythms, rhythmanalysists needs to ask themselves whether there is "a determining rhythm? A primordial and coordinating aspect?" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 33). Here, Lefebvre placed great emphasis on how work became the time of everydayness: "subordinating to the organization of work in space other aspects of the everyday"

(2004, p. 73) such as times of sleeping, eating, leisure and time to be at home. Edensor (2006) further contended that everyday local rhythms are, to a great extent, managed by the state, from diurnal rhythms (i.e. when during the day people can carry out certain actions) to the life-course (e.g. retirement age). These rhythmic orderings vary between social groups: "we can describe daytime and the uses of time in accordance with social categories, sex and age" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 73). For instance, Schwanen et al. (2012a) showed that spatiotemporal inequalities in visitor presence in the night-time economy can, in part, be explained by gender. They found that women's participation in the night-time economy was higher during busy hours, whereas men's participation was determined less by the collective rhythms of visitor presence.

Everyday temporal orderings "reinforce normative ways of understanding and experiencing the world" (Edensor and Holloway, 2008, p. 484). For instance, in his research into everyday cycling practices in London, Spinney noted that the rhythms of cyclists were not "deemed equally desirable" (2010, p. 116) as those of motorised vehicles for which the city's roads were designed. As this example indicates, rhythms acquire a quality in relation to other rhythms. In this vein, Lefebvre stressed that "we know that a rhythm is slow or lively only in relation to other rhythms (often our own: those of our walking, our breathing, our heart)" (2004, p. 10; see also May and Thrift, 2001). In recent years, mobility scholars have emphasised this relational character of rhythm by stressing that mobility practices are also imbued with moments of stillness and waiting (Cresswell, 2012). Bissell and Fuller (2011) argued that, in an "epoch that privileges the mobilization of mobility" (p. 3), these still moments are seen as an aberration and hold negative connotations of inactivity and emptiness. However, as May and Thrift (2001) argued, as individuals and groups hold different rhythms, they also hold different senses of time depending on where they are and on their social position. With regard to air travel, Cresswell (2010) noted how mobility and the relative speed of the passing of time can be experienced in different ways, depending on which class (and its accompanying comfort) one is able to afford.

The above discussion outlines how everyday places are imbued with rhythm. The habitual and routine use of these places confers a sense of familiarity and security or, in Rowles' words, 'insideness'. Where Rowles' and Cutchin's theories focus on how this 'insideness' can be challenged by discontinuities in the relationship between the older person and place, a rhythmanalysist digs beneath the surface of the everyday. As this section shows, focusing on the everyday reveals how the rhythms of both places and people are ordered, and how these orderings may vary by social group and/or by age group. Essentially, the rhythmic orderings of the everyday contribute to how people experience daily life and how they value their own rhythms in relation to those of others.

5.4 Research context, methodology and positionality

In the Netherlands, as in many other Western countries, the government is implementing rules and regulations to encourage 'ageing in place'. Plans that promote ageing in place put great emphasis on the neighbourhood as the site for realising the independent living of current and future generations of older adults (Phillipson, 2014; and for the Dutch context see Blok and Van Rijn, 2014). Given this trend, the aim of the research on which this article draws is to understand older adults' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood (see Lager et al., 2013; 2015). For this paper, we make use of in-depth interviews and walking interviews with 53 older adults that were conducted in 2010, 2012 and 2013 in three neighbourhoods in the city of Groningen. One of the interview questions - whether the respondents could describe a 'normal' day and week of their lives - turned out to yield rich insights into the respondents' everyday rhythms and their experiences of time. All the respondents were white and of Western origin (see Table 5 for their main characteristics). There was a higher prevalence of mobility impairments and the use of mobility devices amongst the respondents belonging to the 'old-old' category (75+) compared to the 'young-old' (65-74) group.

The respondents' everyday rhythms were grounded in and intertwined with the spatialities of ageing in Groningen neighbourhoods. Groningen is a city in the north of the Netherlands with 198,395 inhabitants (Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2015) and can be considered a typical European city in terms of its high population density and its radio-concentric spatial structure. Groningen houses the only university in the northern part of the Netherlands and attracts many students from the region, giving it a relatively young population compared to other Dutch cities (Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2014). Around 12% of the municipality's population are aged 65 or above (Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2015). To enable its older population to live inde-

	53 respondents
Sex:	*Frequencies %*
Men	36%
Women	64%
Age:	
65-74	30%
75-84	49%
85+	21%
Marital status:	
Widowed	45%
Married	40%
Single/divorced	15%

Table 5 Characteristics of the respondents

pendently for longer, the municipality plans to develop service zones in its neighbourhoods in which service provision and age-adapted housing will be concentrated. These zones will be developed around neighbourhood retail areas in order to facilitate the independent mobility of older adults who are not able to walk more than about 400 metres. The three neighbourhoods in which the interviews for this paper were carried out – Selwerd (2010), The Oosterpark (2012) and Corpus den Hoorn (2013) – contain such service zones. Further, all three neighbourhoods have a community centre, other indoor meeting places (e.g. buildings of playground associations, churches and care homes) and contain, to varying degrees, supermarkets and shops that cater for the daily needs of their residents. The neighbourhoods all have a predominantly residential function and, hence, the rhythms of these places are largely determined by the everyday activities of their residents.

Before we discuss the findings, it is important to address the interviewer's positionality in relation to the interviewees. As Lefebvre noted, the starting point of a rhythmanalysis is the body, and this acts as a metronome: "each must appreciate rhythms by referring them to oneself" (2004, p. 10). The principal researcher's (Debbie Lager, in her late 20s during the interviews) daily rhythms were preoccupied with carrying out research for her dissertation. This is in sharp contrast to the daily rhythms of the respondents who were not part of the working population. From the interviewer's perspective, this difference in rhythms led to preconceptions about how older respondents would organise their time, as is reflected in the following excerpt from the first author's research diary:

> "Whilst making phone calls to arrange appointments with older adults for the in-depth interviews, I was surprised that, in contrast to my ageist assumption that older people would have all the time of the world, the respondents indicated they were busy and it could take several weeks before I could be fitted into their tight schedules."

The respondents may have been aware that younger people held these misconceptions of older people's daily rhythms since, in the interviews, they would elaborate in great detail on their organisation of time in the neighbourhood. Maybe, with an older interviewer, they might not have considered this explanation necessary.

5.5 Rhythms of ageing in the neighbourhood

The analysis is structured around three key themes that emerged from the data: the slowing of everyday rhythms, the punctuation of time, and the meaning of generational discontinuities and rhythms in experiencing neighbourhood space. Together these sec-

tions highlight how the daily, weekly and seasonal rhythmic orderings of the respondents' daily lives in the neighbourhood are constituted and how these orderings affect their sense of time.

5.5.1 The rhythms of the everyday: slowing down

This section focuses on how the everyday rhythms of older adults may slow down and how these 'slowed' rhythms affect their sense of time and use of neighbourhood space. As with all human beings, the rhythms of our respondents' days are structured by the bodily needs of sleeping, eating and personal care (see Hagerstrand, 1970). The process of ageing, which is often accompanied by bodily changes, affected our respondents' energy levels. This resulted in a rhythm that included daytime sleep (see also Venn and Arber, 2011). Johanna (female, 73) explains:

> **Interviewer**: So you rest in the afternoon and rest again after dinner?
> **Johanna**: Yes, I have to rest, otherwise I won't last. Because I have an underactive thyroid, I get tired quickly, so I have to moderate my energy. Then I'm at my best.

Further, medicines that have to be taken at fixed times and at regular intervals (such as on an empty stomach) can structure the day and fix mealtimes. Such medicine regimes can constrain the body to the home (the place of eating for our respondents), limiting the opportunities to synchronise available 'outdoor' time with activities taking place in the neighbourhood. "Timing and synchronisation are integral aspects of interactions" (Adam, 2000, p. 136) and, in the following quote, Gerda (female, 73) explains how the combination of her medicine regime and the timing of the church service prevents her from attending church:

> "I would have to be in the church at 08:45. I'm not going to make it. I have to take my medicines at 08:00, half an hour before breakfast. If I don't do that, I have to take them half an hour after a mealtime. Well… I'm retired. That means that I would have to start the day at 06:30! No way, I'm not going to do that. If the church service started at 09:30, then I would go, but not for 08:45."

While the rhythms of rest and medicine intake affect the body's motility in the home and neighbourhood, the pace of doing things may also slow down in old age (see also Schwanen and Kwan, 2012; Stjernborg et al., 2014). The slower pace of bodily movement affects the time available in a day to go places. This can result in experiencing a shrinking life world, an aspect which becomes clear in the following excerpt in which Gerrit (male, 79) and his wife Anne discuss the effects of their decreasing mobility:

> **Gerrit**: Your world gets smaller as you get older. Isn't that so?
> **Anne**: Yes, in the past we went away more often.
> **Gerrit**: We went everywhere. And now… time is going so fast. You experience less and you're not going to get anywhere that quickly.
> **Anne**: Everything slows down a bit. You hear that from other people as well. Things don't go so fast anymore. That includes getting somewhere.

The sense that everyday rhythms are slowing also relates to the increased waiting in the everyday lives of the respondents (Droogleever Fortuijn et al., 2006). Bissell posited that waiting is "*a specific relation-to-the-world"* (2007, p. 284, original emphasis) and, for our respondents, waiting seemed to be an intrinsic and inevitable part of old age. Waiting evoked a sense of dependence. For example, dependence on the weather when snow and ice 'force' respondents to stay indoors because they are afraid of falling. Wintertime was dreaded as this passed slowly and respondents had to wait to be able to go outdoors again. As Aaltje (female, 66) noted: "Last year, I had to stay indoors for a week, it made me feel like climbing the wall". For most respondents it was difficult to adjust to having to wait more than they were used to when they were not as dependent on seasonal rhythms or the rhythms of other people. In the following excerpt, Hendrika (female, 86, and user of a walking frame), expresses her frustrations with waiting:

> "When you get older you are not able to do as many things, and you have a lot of time. When it rains you just have to wait [before you can leave the shops to get home], you're not in a hurry to get home on time. It's the same as with ordering a shared cab[14]. When you order a cab for 14:00, they could arrive a quarter of an hour earlier or later. You have to make sure that you are ready at 13:45 and then you have to wait patiently, it is what it is. It doesn't always work, but you have to try to wait patiently."

The trouble that Hendrika has with waiting patiently is a reflection on prevailing negative connotations of waiting as a non-productive activity (Bissell, 2007). Here, Bissell argued that work on (im)mobilities posited "productivist notions of waiting and subjectivity as examples of slowed and even deadened rhythms moving alongside faster events and practices" (2007, p. 278). As we discuss in the following section, our respondents tried to counteract the negative connotations of these slowed rhythms.

[14] A subsidised travel scheme that can used by those who are unable to use public transport because of mobility impairments.

5.5.2 Punctuating time and making it eventful

To counteract the slowed rhythms of later life, respondents actively sought ways to make everyday time eventful by giving it structure (see also Marhánková, 2011). Whereas, for those employed, the time of work constitutes the time of everydayness (Lefebvre, 2004), after retirement, and/or raising children, older adults have to seek ways to structure their "post-(re)productive free time" (Bildtgard and Oberg, 2015, p. 1). For the male, and some of our female, respondents, retirement marked a tipping point in their lives where they had to remake timespace by seeking new everyday rhythms and places. Claire (female, 81), discussing the transition from work to retirement, for example, noted:

> "You have to think ahead. At work, I was always surrounded by people. A lot of people, crazy situations, sad situations - you can experience a lot in a hospital. And suddenly [after retirement] you end up sitting in a room [at home]. You have to make sure you get some anchors in your week."

These anchors, for the majority of respondents, involved daily or weekly reoccurring activities such as walking, grocery shopping, cleaning and neighbourhood association and club activities. Lefebvre noted that "… rites and ritualisations interven[e] in everyday time, punctuating it" (2004, p. 94). In later life, when time is not dictated by work, punctuating or anchoring time through activities is a means of making everyday time go fast and experiencing it as eventful (see also Lee, 2014). This is exemplified in the following quote by Sophie (female, 84) who summed up all the things that she does during a week:

> **Sophie**: Monday evening for card games, Tuesday morning for shuffleboard, on Wednesday the help is here, Wednesday afternoon grocery shopping, if I am able to. Thursday singing, Friday… well you [the interviewers] are really lucky. Friday morning: have to get up early because these students want to know things. That's the way it is.
> **Interviewer**: So your programme is…
> **Sophie**: Completely full
> **Interviewer**: How is that working for you?
> **Sophie**: It's excellent.

Although an aged source of reference, the French philosopher Jean-Marie Guyau's (1854-1888) work on time provides an interesting insight into why respondents seem to be concerned with filling time with activities. Guyau argued that older adults lack the new,

intense and vivid experiences of children and youths, making "the weeks resemble each other, the months resemble each other, that constitute the monotonous rut of life" (Guyau, 1988, p. 137). Guyau further compared old age to an "unchanging décor of the classical theatre, a simple, unassuming setting. Sometimes [it creates] a veritable unity of time, place and action which focuses everything on one dominant action to the exclusion of all others, at other times [it only leads to] a nullity of action, place, and time" (p. 137). Respondents seemed to be wary of this notion of nullity of action, place, and time, and repeatedly stated that they were "never bored" (Roel, male, 86). The sense of time as eventful (i.e. busy) had a positive connotation for many respondents. Keeping busy seemed to be a sign of active ageing (Katz, 2000; Marhánková, 2011), a preferred rhythm for the majority of our respondents. As Maria (female, 72) explained in the context of her voluntary work with socially isolated older adults:

> "She [the client] says: 'you are here again?', that's the way the conversation starts. 'The week is over already', that kind of stuff. 'The week is already over, that went fast!'. It's a sign that they are doing well. It's not a good thing when time goes slowly, it has to go fast. It's a sign that they are busy."

The emphasis the respondents placed on their activities and busyness can be seen in relation to public perceptions of the ideal of activity in old age (Katz, 2000). Lefebvre (2004) argued that, in a rhythmanalysis, one should look for a hierarchy in rhythms. For the respondents, the rhythms of younger people and their younger selves seemed to be their preferred rhythms, the highest in their ranking. In the next section, we discuss how the rhythms of younger people influence older adults' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood.

5.5.3 Generational discontinuities and rhythms

In this section, we highlight the relationality of older adults' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood. In respondents' accounts of their daily lives, there was always a reference to the rhythms of younger residents and younger people in general. To the respondents, the different rhythms of younger people seemed to signify a generational discontinuity within the neighbourhood. This generational discontinuity was most noticeable when respondents discussed the ageing of local clubs. Clubs in which they were involved were not attracting new members and, as a result, the group of people that would attend an activity was shrinking, thereby emphasising the finitude of local club life. Adam (2014), drawing on Heidegger, argued that finitude (i.e. that life inevitably leads to an end) may acquire a discomforting meaning in later life as death is no longer something in the distant future. Similarly, finitude can relate to the discontinuity in the

vibrant club life that respondents were familiar with. This is exemplified in the following quote by Rens (male, 86):

> "We [the choir] used to have thirty members but, nowadays, there are not more than twenty and the oldest has stopped now, he was 94. There are no new people coming in for the ones leaving. What's the reason for that? You [young people] are in the midst of your lives and don't feel like becoming a member of what we used to have in the past - a boys club. Also, the church service is different today: it has become a youth service, us old people don't count."

The reasons for this generational discontinuity in neighbourhood club life were attributed to the rhythms of younger residents. The majority of the respondents spent most of their time at home or in the neighbourhood, and would be outside during the day, whereas younger residents would be at places of work or study during the day (see also Lager et al., 2015). The different rhythms of older and younger residents, out of synchrony in time and space, seemed to result in a 'generational divide' within the neighbourhood. The rhythms of younger people, dictated by the time demands of student life, work and family, were described in great detail by many respondents. Elisabeth (female, 83), for instance, noted:

> "Men and women both work, and they have children which they have to take care of and they have pre-school day care and after school day care, they have to take the kids from school and have to cook, eat, shower and put the children to bed. Then father and mother are exhausted, and the next day it all starts again at 06.30. So they don't have time for volunteering. They also have to do things at their children's school, and when they get to around 65 they have a caravan [and go off on holiday] and they have older parents they have to take care of."

In addition to a diurnal character, the 'generational divide' in neighbourhood space also had a seasonal rhythm. Especially for respondents with impaired mobility, summer time emphasised their relative stasis in place compared to the younger and more mobile residents. This stasis in place was marked by the younger families who would go on holiday, whilst the older respondents stayed at home. Gerda (female, 73), for example, noted:

> "Young people do other stuff, they go away with their kids. In the apartment block where I used to live, I had the keys of four or five homes to collect the mail. Nobody was there in the summer. One would be camping, another on a boating holiday, another one was also on holiday somewhere. There were singles who were at home,

> but you never knew whether they were in or out. I was there all alone and if something had happened there would be no one to call upon. Here [in the senior apartment block], there are always people at home. If something were to happen I could always visit or call a neighbour."

'Old-old' respondents not only referred to young families, but also to the 'young-old' who would be away on holiday for several months during the summer, unconstrained by work and school holidays. Some respondents experienced the time when their young-old neighbours were away on holiday as a lonely time. However, they also recognised that they would be doing the same thing if they were younger. Referring to the time when she and her husband went on long caravan holidays, Hendrika (female, 86) remarked: "we did exactly the same in the past". This quote suggests that the generational discontinuities that respondents experience also relate to a discontinuity in rhythms between themselves today and their younger selves.

5.6 Conclusions and discussion

In this paper, we have demonstrated the potential of time in understanding older adults' experiences of ageing in urban neighbourhoods. We utilised Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* (2004), as this perspective highlights how the everyday rhythmic orderings of people and place come into being and can affect their sense of time. Our findings show that, in later life, daily rhythms slow as decreasing energy levels and medication intake commitments reduce the time left in a day to go places. As their daily rhythms slow, older adults still seek ways to give structure to their post-(re)productive free time, which is no longer dictated by the timing of work or raising children. In respondents' accounts of daily life in the neighbourhood, a stark contrast emerged between the rhythms of later life and the busier rhythms of younger and working people. The temporal orderings of younger people's lives (and respondents' younger selves) seemed to be viewed as the preferred rhythm, which influenced how respondents' valued their own rhythms. The increased amount of time spent waiting in daily life evoked a sense of dependence and stressed that respondents 'were old'. Counteracting these more negative connotations of the rhythms of later life, the structuring of time through daily and weekly reoccurring neighbourhood activities provided a way to make time eventful, which was experienced as a positive thing.

It is important to recognise that this paper offers a Western perspective on the role of rhythm in older adults' experiences of daily neighbourhood life, both in terms of how these rhythms are ordered and how they affect people's sense of time. As we showed, the institutional and spatial separation of groups by age in Western societies (Hagestad and Uhlenberg, 2005) affects the rhythmic orderings of neighbourhood resi-

dents, which our respondents experienced as a 'generational divide'. This age segregation, as Hagestad and Uhlenberg argued, "mark[s] sharp distinctions between self and other" (2005, p. 344), and this was apparent in the contrast we saw between the rhythms of later life and those of younger people. The positive connotations of experiencing time as eventful seemed to be linked to the norm of active ageing, which implicitly contains reference to the young, able-bodied and working population, with a higher tempo of life, being constantly on the move, and busy in their careers and family lives. Marhánková (2011) argued that, depending on willingness and ability, it may not be possible for all older adults to pursue such an active lifestyle. However, we would contend that it is sufficient to perceive time as eventful and that this can act as a means to experience activity and give positive meaning to the slowed rhythms of later life. Further research is needed to reflect on the heterogeneity of cultures in older populations (Daatland and Biggs, 2006) and the ways in which, for instance, older migrants value their daily rhythms (Lee, 2014, is one of the few to address this issue).

Our findings provide a new perspective for understanding the subjective dimensions of ageing in urban neighbourhoods. Current theorisations on older adults' experiences of place focus on one aspect of time - that of a linear trajectory. Familiarity with and predictability of place, which develop over time, have been found to be important in older adults' place attachment and independence (e.g. Wiles et al., 2012). Analysing older adults' experiences of place through rhythm offers a more nuanced and deeper understanding of the meaning of the everyday. Our results suggest that the daily rhythms of ageing in one's neighbourhood can also evoke a sense of 'otherness'. Incorporating such knowledge in the conceptualisation of neighbourhood exclusion and inclusion (e.g. Buffel et al., 2013; Scharf and Keating, 2012) can yield a more comprehensive understanding of the factors that foster or impede older adults' experience of inclusion and exclusion. Lefebvre and Régulier (2004) contended that someone's relationship with a particular place could inform on their relationship with society at large. Whilst our research focused on daily life within one's neighbourhood, the respondents' experiences may also provide insight into how they feel about their place in society as an older adult.

The ageing-in-place concept involves the physical and social integration of older people within a neighbourhood space. This is echoed in public policy agendas that aim to enhance older adults' quality of life by creating 'age-friendly' environments. The 'Global Age-friendly Cities' guide (WHO, 2007) emphasises that making neighbourhoods 'age-friendly' involves, among other things, improving the quality of and access to outdoor spaces, service provision, and the opportunities for civic and social participation (Buffel et al., 2012). In practice, this usually entails improving the built environment plus social welfare interventions that are targeted at the older population (Gilroy, 2008). However, in the planning and (re)design of age-friendly neighbourhoods, the factor 'time'

also needs to be considered. Given European policymakers' interest in intergenerational relationships and solidarity, it is especially important to know how and where the daily rhythms of different age groups can co-occur (see Buffel et al., 2013; Vanderbeck, 2007). This may be of particular relevance for university towns where the studentification of neighbourhoods can have a negative impact on local support structures for the older population (e.g. Sage et al., 2012). In the forthcoming decades, a challenge for societies will be how to prevent neighbourhoods from becoming ensembles in which older adults feel out of rhythm and out of place.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the respondents for sharing their stories with us. We would also like to thank Linden Douma, Dyon Hoekstra, Jinko Rots and Inge de Vries for the pleasant collaboration in collecting data in Selwerd in 2010. This research would not have been possible without the financial support of the Ubbo Emmius Fund.

References

Adam, B., 2014. Future Matters for Ageing Research. Presented at: Imagining the Future Workshop, London, England, 11 February 2010. In: Bornaj J., Jones, R.L. (Eds.) Imagining Futures : Methodological Issues for Research into Ageing. Open University/ CPA, Milton Keynes, pp. 11-25.

Adam, B., 2000. The temporal gaze: the challenge for social theory in the context of GM food. The British journal of sociology 51, 125-142.

Bildtgard, T., Oberg, P., 2015. Time as a structuring condition behind new intimate relationships in later life. Ageing & Society FirstView. 1-24. DOI: 10.1017/ S0144686X14000452

Bissell, D., Fuller, G., 2011. Stillness unbound. In: Bissell, D., Fuller G. (Eds.) Stillness in a mobile world. Routledge, London, pp. 1-17.

Bissell, D., 2007. Animating Suspension: Waiting for Mobilities. Mobilities 2, 277-298.

Blok, S.A., Van Rijn, M. J., 2014. Transitieagenda Langer zelfstandig wonen [Transition agenda Longer independent living] 32847-121. Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, Den Haag.

Buffel, T., De Backer, F., Peeters, J., Phillipson, C., Romero Reina, V., Kindekens, A., De Donder, L., Lombaerts, K., 2013. Promoting sustainable communities through intergenerational practice. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences 00, 1-7.

Buffel, T., Phillipson, C., Scharf, T., 2012. Ageing in urban environments : Developing 'age-friendly' cities. Critical Social Policy 32, 597-617.

Buffel, T., Phillipson, C., Scharf, T., 2013. Experiences of neighbourhood exclusion and inclusion among older people living in deprived inner-city areas in Belgium and

England. Ageing & Society 33 (1), 89-109.
Crang, M., 2001. Rhythms of the city: temporalised space and motion. In: May, J., Thrift N. (Eds.) Timespace. Geographies of temporality. Routledge, Oxon, pp. 187-207.
Crang, M., Crosbie, T., Graham, S., 2007. Technology, time - space, and the remediation of neighbourhood life. Environment and Planning A 39 (10), 2405-2422.
Cresswell, T., 2010. Towards a politics of mobility. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 28, 17-31.
Cresswell, T., 2012. Mobilities II: Still. Progress in Human Geography 36, 645-653.
Cronin, A.M., 2006. Advertising and the metabolism of the city: urban space, commodity rhythms. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 24, 615-632.
Cutchin, M.P., 2001. Deweyan Integration: Moving Beyond Place Attachment in Elderly Migration Theory. The International Journal of Aging and Human Development 52 (1), 29-44.
Daatland, S.O., Biggs, S. (Eds.), 2006. Ageing and diversity: multiple pathways and cultural migrations. The Policy Press, Bristol.
Droogleever Fortuijn, J., Van der Meer, M., Burholt, V., Ferring, D., Quattrini, S., Hallberg, I.R., Weber, G., Wenger, G.C., 2006. The activity patterns of older adults: a cross-sectional study in six European countries. Population, Space and Place 12, 353-369.
Edensor, T. (Ed.), 2010. Geographies of Rhythm. Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies. Ashgate, Farnham.
Edensor, T., 2006. Reconsidering National Temporalities: Institutional Times, Everyday Routines, Serial Spaces and Synchronicities. European Journal of Social Theory 9, 525-545.
Edensor, T., Holloway, J., 2008. Rhythmanalysing the coach tour: the Ring of Kerry, Ireland. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 33, 483-501.
Elden, S., 2004. Rhythmanalysis: An Introduction. In: Elden, S., Moore, G. (Eds.) Rhythmanalysis. Space, Time and Everyday Life. Continuum, London, pp. vii-xv.
Gardner, P.J., 2011. Natural neighborhood networks — Important social networks in the lives of older adults aging in place. Journal of Aging Studies 25 (3), 263-271.
Gilroy, R., 2008. Places that Support Human Flourishing: Lessons from Later Life. Planning Theory & Practice 9 (2), 145-163.
Golant, S.M., 2003. Conceptualizing Time and Behavior in Environmental Gerontology: A Pair of Old Issues Deserving New Thought. The Gerontologist 43, 638-648.
Guyau, J. M., 1988. The origin of the idea of time by Jean-Marie Guyau. In: Michon, J.A., Pouthas, V., Jackson, J.L. (Eds.) Guyau and the Idea of Time. North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Oxford/New York, pp. 93-148.
Hagerstrand, T., 1970. What about people in Regional Science?. Papers of the Regional Science Association 24 (1), 6-21.

Hagestad, G.O., Uhlenberg, P., 2005. The Social Separation of Old and Young: A Root of Ageism. Journal of Social Issues 61, 343-360.

Highmore, B., 2002. Everyday Life and Cultural Theory. An Introduction. Routledge, London.

Hillcoat-Nallétamby, S., Ogg, J., 2014. Moving beyond 'ageing in place': older people's dislikes about their home and neighbourhood environments as a motive for wishing to move. Ageing & Society 34, 1771-1796.

Jacobs, J., 1961. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. Vintage, Westminster, MD, USA.

Katz, S., 2000. Busy Bodies: Activity, aging, and the management of everyday life. Journal of Aging Studies 14 (2), 135-152.

Kwan, M., 2013. Beyond Space (As We Knew It): Toward Temporally Integrated Geographies of Segregation, Health, and Accessibility. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 103, 1078-1086.

Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Huigen, P.P.P., 2013. Dealing with change in old age: negotiating working-class belonging in a neighbourhood in the process of urban renewal in the Netherlands. Geoforum 50, 54-61.

Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Huigen, P.P.P., 2015. Understanding older adults' social capital in place: Obstacles to and opportunities for social contacts in the neighbourhood. Geoforum 59, 87-97.

Lee, S., 2014. The rhythm of ageing amongst Chinese elders in sheltered housing. Ageing & Society 34, 1505-1524.

Lefebvre, H., 2004. Rhythmanalysis. Space, Time and Everyday Life. Continuum, London.

Lefebvre, H., Régulier, C., 2004. Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities. In: Elden, S., Moore, G. (Eds.) Rhythmanalysis. Space, Time and Everyday Life. Continuum, London, pp. 85-100.

Marhánková, J.H., 2011. Leisure in old age: disciplinary practices surrounding the discourse of active ageing. International Journal of Ageing and Later Life 6, 5-32.

May, J., Thrift, N., 2001. Introduction. In: May, J., Thrift N. (Eds.) Timespace. Geographies of temporality. Routledge, Oxon, pp. 1-46.

McCormack, D.P., 2002. A paper with an interest in rhythm. Geoforum 33, 469-485.

Mels, T., 2004a. Lineages of a Geography of Rhythms. In: Mels, T. (Ed.) Reanimating Places. A Geography of Rhythms. Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 3-42.

Mels, T. (Ed.), 2004b. Reanimating Places: A Geography of Rhythms. Ashgate, Aldershot.

Middleton, J., 2009. 'Stepping in time': walking, time, and space in the city. Environment and Planning A 41, 1943-1961.

Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2015. Gronometer. http://groningen.buurtmonitor.

nl (Accessed 22.01.2015)

Onderzoek en Statistiek Groningen, 2014. Statistische overzichten: bevolking. http://www.os-groningen.nl/images/stories/rapport/sjb/thema02_bevolking.pdf.

Peace, S., Holland, C., Kellaher, L., 2011. 'Option recognition' in later life: variations in ageing in place. Ageing & Society 31, 734-757.

Phillipson, C., Bernard, M., Phillips, J., Ogg, J., 2001. The family and community life of older people. Routledge, London.

Phillipson, C., 2014. Developing Age-Friendly Urban Communities: Critical Issues for Public Policy. Public Policy & Aging Report, 1-5.

Rowles, G.D., 1983. Place and personal identity in old age: Observations from Appalachia. Journal of Environmental Psychology 3 (4), 299-313.

Rowles, G.D., 1978. Prisoners of Space? Exploring the Geographical Experience of Older People. Westview Press, Colorado.

Rowles, G.D., Watkins, J.F., 2003. History, Habit, Heart and Hearth: On Making Spaces into Places. In: Warner Schaie, K., Wahl, H.-., Mollenkopf, H., Oswald, F. (Eds.) Aging Independently. Living Arrangements and Mobility. Springer Publishing Company, New York, pp. 77-96.

Sage, J., Smith, D., Hubbard, P., 2012. The Diverse Geographies of Studentification: Living Alongside People Not Like Us. Housing Studies 27, 1057-1078.

Scharf, T., Keating, N.C. (Eds.), 2012. From Exclusion to Inclusion in Old Age. The Policy Press, Bristol.

Schwanen, T., Kwan, M., 2012. Critical space-time geographies. Environment and Planning A 44, 2043-2048.

Schwanen, T., Van Aalst, I., Brands, J., Timan, T., 2012a. Rhythms of the night: spatiotemporal inequalities in the nighttime economy. Environment and Planning A 44, 2064-2085.

Schwanen, T., Hardill, I., Lucas, S., 2012. Spatialities of ageing: The co-construction and co-evolution of old age and space. Geoforum 43 (6), 1291-1295.

Seamon, D., 1980. Body-subject, time-space routines, and place-ballets. In: Buttimer, A., Seamon, D. (Eds.) The human experience of space and place. Croomhelm, London, pp. 148-165.

Simpson, P., 2008. Chronic everyday life: rhythmanalysing street performance. Social & Cultural Geography 9, 807-829.

Spinney, J., 2010. Improvising Rhythms: Re-reading Urban Time and Space through Everyday Practices of Cycling. In: Edensor, T. (Ed.) Geographies of Rhythm. Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies. Ashgate, Farnham, pp. 113-127.

Stjernborg, V., Wretstrand, A., Tesfahuney, M., 2014. Everyday Life Mobilities of Older Persons – A Case Study of Ageing in a Suburban Landscape in Sweden. Mobilities, DOI:10.1080/17450101.2013.874836

Temelová, J., Novák, J., 2011. Daily street life in the inner city of Prague under transformation: the visual experience of socio-spatial differentiation and temporal rhythms. Visual Studies 26, 213-228.

Vanderbeck, R.M., 2007. Intergenerational Geographies: Age Relations, Segregation and Re-engagements. Geography Compass 1 (2), 200-221.

Venn, S., Arber, S., 2011. Day-time sleep and active ageing in later life. Ageing & Society 31, 197-216.

VROMRaad, 2005. Oude bomen? Oude bomen moet je niet verplanten. Advies over ouderenbeleid en wonen [Old trees? Old trees should not be replanted. Advice about elderly policy and housing]. VROMRaad, Den Haag.

WHO, 2007. Global age-friendly cities: a guide. World Health Organization, Geneva.

Wiles, J.L., Leibing, A., Guberman, N., Reeve, J., Allen, R.E.S., 2012. The Meaning of "Aging in Place" to Older People. The Gerontologist 52 (3), 357-366.

Ziegler, F., 2012. "You have to engage with life, or life will go away": An intersectional life course analysis of older women's social participation in a disadvantaged urban area. Geoforum 43 (6), 1296-1305.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This thesis contributes to a more sustained engagement with the relationship between ageing and place in human geography. The aim of this thesis is to provide an understanding of the elements that play a role in the subjective dimensions of ageing in place. In particular, the focus is on the neighbourhood as a place of ageing. Focusing on the neighbourhood can be seen in the light of ageing in place policies and a growing body of research that stresses the importance of the physical and social infrastructure of the neighbourhood for older adults' quality of life. To gain insight into the subjective dimensions of ageing in place, in-depth interviews and walking interviews were conducted with older adults in three urban neighbourhoods in the city of Groningen, the Netherlands. In examining the elements that influence how older adults' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood come into being, I drew on relational thinking.

In the remainder of this chapter, an overview of the main findings is first provided along two main themes: the first theme considers ageing in place from a relational perspective, the second focuses on older adults' experiences of everyday life in relation to policy assumptions. Following this, reflections on researching ageing in place and future research directions are provided.

6.2 Ageing in place: a relational perspective

This thesis considers ageing in place from a relational perspective. I found that the elements listed below play an important role in the "entwined becomings" (Schwanen et al., 2012, p. 2) of older adults' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood. For the purpose of analysis, these elements are grouped according to the four organising principles of everyday life (self, others, place and time) that were used in this thesis to examine the subjective dimensions of ageing in place:

Self	Older adults' engagement with their neighbourhood over the life course
Others	Younger and older neighbourhood residents
	Societal perceptions of old age
Place	Neighbourhood design
	Elements in the built environment
Time	Everyday rhythms of ageing in the neighbourhood
	Sense of time

In the remainder of this section, the connections between these elements are addressed whilst drawing on the various themes that were discussed in Chapters 2 to 5. These are the discontinuities of ageing in place in relation to neighbourhood transitions (Chapter 2), the meaning of local social contacts (Chapter 3), everyday practices (Chapters 2 and 4) and the daily temporal orderings of ageing in place (Chapter 5).

In Chapter 2, the relational approach adopted for this research is set out in relation to understanding the impact of neighbourhood transitions on older adults' sense of belonging. In existing approaches to the relationship between older adults and place, people and place are generally treated as separate entities that either fit or do not fit together depending on whether older adults possess the competences required to adapt to change (Ziegler, 2012). A relational approach goes beyond understanding the person-environment relationship in terms of 'fit' or adaptation to place (see Lawton, 1977) and understands people and places as being produced in relation to each other (e.g. Duff, 2010; Law, 1999). In this chapter, this approach is used to examine how older people who are living in a former working-class neighbourhood, now in the process of urban renewal, experience and negotiate neighbourhood transitions in everyday life. It has been suggested that older adults who have lived in their neighbourhood for a long time may experience problems with adapting to their changing surroundings as new norms and practices evolve that make them feel 'out of place' (Milligan et al., 2005; Rowles and Watkins, 2003). However, my research indicates that older people actively rework their routines in everyday places and interactions in order to maintain a sense of familiarity and predictability in such times of change. The respondents' long-term residency and time spent in the neighbourhood proved to be a resource when dealing with change, as the working-class 'insideness' they had developed over the years conferred a sense of continuity, belonging and attachment. They not only retained a sense of belonging for themselves, they did so for other residents through giving shape to neighbourhood change. For instance, one of my respondents had been able to preserve a piece of the Oosterpark's physical heritage as an artwork that was embedded in the wall of a new building. Such findings indicate that the relationship between a changing neighbourhood and its older residents is not unidirectional but reciprocal in nature.

In Chapter 3, relational thinking was used to inform my understanding of the meaning of local social contacts, and the obstacles to their potential benefits, in the context of ageing in place. This topic was examined through the conceptual lens of social capital. Social capital reflects the ability of individuals and communities to secure benefits from social networks (Portes, 1998). For people who are less mobile, such as older adults, local social capital is thought to be especially important for acquiring social and instrumental support, and thereby as contributing to their health and wellbeing (Gray, 2009). The literature on the relationship between social capital and the health and wellbeing of older people tends to be dominated by a quantitative approach, which I have argued fails to account for the contingent and relational character of local social contacts. By focusing on older adults' experiences of everyday life, I revealed that a neighbourhood is not an isotropic surface on which the opportunities for developing social capital are evenly distributed. The potential benefits from older adults' local social contacts

are contingent on the extent to which the neighbourhood design facilitates social encounters, and varies depending on the place of social interaction and the expectations associated with these interactions. Younger neighbours and other older adults in the neighbourhood were most salient in terms of the benefits respondents hoped to derive from interactions with these age groups. For some respondents, the internalisation of society's ideal of active ageing seemed to impede them in asking younger neighbours for practical support as they thought they would be seen as too active to warrant assistance. Furthermore, this active ideal hindered respondents in benefitting from contacts with other older people who would discuss 'old people' topics such as diminishing health and medicine. Together, these findings suggest that older adults' social capital in their neighbourhood can be considered as a socially negotiated construct that is shaped through the micro-geographies of everyday life.

Older adults' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood come into being through practices (e.g. Eyles, 1989; Skinner et al., 2014) and this is highlighted in Chapters 2 and 4. In these chapters, I refer to this practised nature of everyday experiences as 'place-making' (see also Rowles and Watkins, 2003). In Chapter 2, two strands of research into place-making in old age were distinguished: one in which the relationship between older adults and their environment is understood in functional terms (i.e. how places can be helpful in engaging in everyday activities) (see Lawton and Nahemow, 1973; Lawton, 1977); and one which stresses the experiential and affective bonds with places (see Rowles, 1978; Rowles, 1983). In this chapter, I showed that the functional and affective dimensions of place-making are interwoven. For example, the continuation of the informal support and care practices, on which neighbourhood life in the Oosterpark neighbourhood was previously based, acted as both a means through which respondents retained a sense of a community that they were familiar with (affective dimension) and as a resource for providing social and instrumental support to other older adults in the neighbourhood (functional dimension).

In Chapter 4, the focus shifted to one particular everyday practice, the act of walking, in order to understand older adults' engagement with neighbourhood space. As walking is an important mode of everyday mobility for older people living in densely populated urban neighbourhoods, it is also significant in terms of how it affects experiences of everyday life. To explore the subjective dimensions of older adults' use of neighbourhood space through walking, I undertook walking interviews. These walking interviews proved to be particularly valuable for eliciting the embodied and emplaced character of place experiences. These notions reflect the idea that experiences stand in relation to the specific place and time in which they come into being and the body's sensorial and affective engagement with its environment (Elwood and Martin, 2000; Spinney, 2014; Van Hoven, 2011). My research revealed that older adults' place-making through walk-

ing occurs in the form of routes, and that these routes are informed by, as well as evoke, experiences and feelings. The routes that respondents took were informed by their different engagements with the neighbourhood over the life course, which literally moved them in different directions. For respondents for whom the neighbourhood was their central setting of experience throughout their life course, routes were informed by the need to relive memorable past feelings of neighbourhood social life. The routes of respondents who had been engaged in social networks outside the neighbourhood before their mobility started to decrease were guided, to a large extent, by the need to experience sociability in their proximate environment. However, for my respondents in general, the act of walking in itself evoked feelings of being different because elements in the built environment signified how young and able-bodied people involved in the design and planning of the neighbourhood seemed to be unaware of older residents' routes and their physical abilities. These findings indicate that everyday practices play an important role in understanding the subjective dimensions of ageing in place, as it is through practices like walking that feelings of belonging and exclusion are reproduced.

An emphasis in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 was on the interplay of self, others and place in the constitution of older adults' experiences. The role of 'time' in older adults' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood was further examined in Chapter 5. In Chapter 3, we had seen that the different daily time geographies of respondents and their younger neighbours was an obstacle to developing local social capital. These daily temporal orderings of ageing in urban neighbourhoods were further explored in Chapter 5. Drawing on Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis (2004), I see neighbourhoods as rhythmic ensembles that consist of multiple rhythms (e.g. social, non-human, corporeal, mobile and institutionally inscribed). There is a hierarchy in the everyday local rhythms of neighbourhoods, and the orderings of these rhythms affect how people experience daily life and how they value their own rhythms in relation to those of others (Edensor and Holloway, 2008; Lefebvre, 2004). The findings revealed how the contrasting daily time geographies of the older and the younger residents emphasise the slowness of the rhythms of later life. The rhythms of younger people, and of the respondents' younger selves, seemed to be valued more highly in respondents' ranking. In order to counteract the negative connotations they attached to the rhythms of later life, respondents sought ways of making time eventful, and experienced this as a positive thing. The findings indicate that making time eventful (i.e. being busy) relates to the ideal of activity in old age, which implicitly refers to the young, able-bodied and working population with a higher tempo of life.

To conclude, to date "relational thinking has not been highly visible in geographical research on ageing" (Skinner et al., 2014, p. 12) despite it having great potential in conceptualising the relationship between older adults and place. Through thinking

in relational terms, I was able to distinguish the interwovenness and the dynamics of elements that play a role in the subjective dimensions of ageing in place. The value of viewing ageing in place from a relational perspective lies not only in mapping the connections between the elements involved in the co-creation of older adults' experiences but also, and more so, in showing the significance of these specific connections in how feelings of belonging, exclusion and wellbeing come into being in a neighbourhood space.

6.3 Ageing in place: assumptions and realities

The promotion of ageing in place policies stresses that growing old in one's own home and neighbourhood is in the best interest of older adults, as they can age within a familiar and predictable environment that is supportive of their social, emotional and instrumental needs (Davies and James, 2011). As such, ageing in place is thought to "positively contribute to an increase in wellbeing, independence, social participation and healthy ageing" (Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 2008, p. 220). In this thesis, I have addressed some of the underlying assumptions of ageing in place policies in light of older adults' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood. The main issues that are covered in this section relate to neighbourhood change, care in the community, mobility and social integration.

Inherent to ageing in place policies is, I argue, a rather static notion of place that overlooks discontinuities in a neighbourhood. Social and physical transformations can turn a neighbourhood into an unfamiliar environment (Reijndorp, 2007). In the Netherlands, many neighbourhoods undergo significant changes as a result of state-led urban renewal strategies. As such, consideration should be given to what discontinuities of place mean to older adults within the notion of ageing in place. By focusing on older adults' experiences of everyday life in a neighbourhood that is in the process of urban renewal, this static notion of ageing in place is questioned in Chapter 2. The findings showed that the changing character and appearance of the Oosterpark district evoked feelings of nostalgia for a lost community. However, respondents were able to retain a sense of community by actively giving shape to neighbourhood changes by transferring their working-class 'insideness' (see Rowles, 1983) to their present lives. This working-class insideness constituted the continuation of social interaction in the street, informal forms of support and care in the neighbourhood and practices of self-organisation. These everyday practices conferred a sense of familiarity and community. However, in contrast to the intergenerational character of past neighbourhood life, respondents' present experiences of everyday life in the neighbourhood were largely restricted to interactions with older adults and places dominated by other older adults. These findings suggest that although older adults can experience familiarity and continuity despite neighbourhood change, the lack of intergenerational interactions challenge the notion of community care which underlies ageing in place policies (Milligan, 2009). Although older adults

have been identified as important contributors to neighbourhoods through the provision of informal support (see Hardill and Baines, 2009), there eventually comes a time when they themselves require care and support.

The challenges facing care in the community are further addressed in Chapter 3. In this chapter, I questioned the assumption, inherent in the Dutch Social Support Act, that neighbourhoods will act as supportive communities (i.e. residents will provide instrumental and social support) for their older and more vulnerable residents (Van der Meer et al., 2008). Here, I used the concept of social capital to examine the potential obstacles to, and opportunities for, older adults having local social contacts. Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital has become highly influential in the policy arena as it stresses the advantages of social networks for the health and wellbeing of older adults, thereby legitimising it as a "no-cost alternative for social welfare provision" (Naughton, 2013, p. 2). Whereas Putnam's conceptualisation focuses on the outcomes of social capital, I am interested in the mechanisms through which it comes into being in the everyday lives of older adults in the neighbourhood. I identified many obstacles to and, to a lesser extent, opportunities for developing and maintaining meaningful local social contacts. Trusting relationships between older adults and younger residents were hard to establish, at least in part because of the different time-geographies of the two groups and the impediments the older respondents felt to asking younger neighbours for instrumental support. Further, contacts with other older residents did not necessarily prove to be a resource in developing older adults' social capital. Although contacts with older neighbours were positively valued in terms of the sense of neighbourliness they invoked, contacts with other older residents at meeting places did not always result in meaningful relationships. These findings demonstrate that the reality of care in the community is more complex than generally assumed in ageing in place policies.

Ageing in place policies pose challenges for planning practice in terms of (re) designing neighbourhoods to facilitate the longer independent living of the older population. Enhancing older adults' independent mobility entails improving the walkability of neighbourhood public spaces. Walkability refers to the quality of a pedestrian space, and has traditionally been seen from a transportation efficiency perspective - using measures such as speed of pedestrian flow (Hutabarat Lo, 2009). Although walkability researchers and planners have recognised the physiological needs of the older person in traversing space, highlighting the importance of resting places and clear signage, the meanings that older people attach to walking in their neighbourhood and the ways in which these meanings shape where and why they walk have received little attention (Andrews et al., 2012; Hockey et al., 2013). In Chapter 4, experiences and feelings of walking in the neighbourhood were examined in order to highlight the subjective dimension of older adults' use of their neighbourhood. Researchers and policymakers have posited walking as a

means to stay active and healthy in later life, a view shared by the respondents. However, through focusing on older adults' everyday life, I found that the reasons for walking, and the routes respondents chose to walk, are also informed by the need for sociability and reliving memorable past feelings of neighbourhood social life.

A key element of ageing in place policies is enhancing the social integration of older people into the wider society. In practice, this is realised through improvements in the built environment and social welfare interventions (Gilroy, 2008). However, I would argue that older adults' social integration also comes about through place as well as through time. In Chapter 5, older adults' daily rhythms and the ways in which these rhythms contribute to how they experience everyday life in the neighbourhood were examined. The temporal segregation of age groups within the neighbourhood was experienced as a 'generational divide'. The faster pace of younger residents' daily lives and their greater mobility provided a negative stress that the respondents 'were old' and further emphasised their stasis in the neighbourhood. These results suggest that although ageing in place policies presuppose that older adults will be socially integrated, the daily rhythms of ageing in the neighbourhood can evoke a sense of 'otherness'.

6.4 Reflections on researching ageing in place

In this section, I reflect on the research methods that I adopted for this research and the ethical considerations and dilemmas that arose concerning these methods. Further, I also reflect on my positionality in relation to the knowledge produced in this thesis concerning the subjective dimensions of ageing in place.

The methods adopted in this thesis have contributed to a greater understanding of the subjective dimensions of ageing in place (e.g. Peace et al., 2011; Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 2008; Smith, 2009; Wiles et al., 2012). Insight into the experiences of older people who are ageing in place is particularly relevant in the context of developing 'age-friendly' environments. Murray (2015) has recently contended that the experiences of older adults have not been taken into account when it comes to implementing age-friendly policies (see also Hockey et al., 2013). Partly, this has to do with the limited extent to which older people are included in decision-making processes about their local environment (see Buffel et al., 2012; Day, 2010; Hockey et al., 2013). Older people, especially those less 'active' and vulnerable, tend to be underrepresented in planning processes and policy and service development. Another factor relates to the challenge facing policymakers in trying to make sense, given the breadth of multidisciplinary literature, of the elements of older people's spatial experiences that deal with the significance of place in their everyday lives (Hockey et al., 2013).

Given that such issues impede consideration of the subjective dimensions of ageing in place when it comes to the development of age-friendly environments, the use

of walking interviews in this study proved to be particularly useful in offering a clear articulation of the spatiality of older adults' relationship with their neighbourhood. By adopting this 'in place' method, it became possible to directly link respondents' experiences to elements in the built environment. In communicating my research beyond academia, through involvement in various public engagement activities, I saw how examples, that had arisen during the walking interviews, of older adults' experience and use of neighbourhood space turned out to be particularly useful in raising the awareness of policymakers and care professionals as to how people experience place through their everyday routes and routines. In this way, at least to some extent, I was able to extend the knowledge produced for this thesis into other arenas. Further, the empirical data generated from both the in-depth interviews and the walking interviews provided useful input for discussing older adults' social capital in relation to the realities and complexities of civil society. To this end, I devised a role-play exercise in which the participants of a symposium on care innovations had to seek ways of improving the social capital of a fictive older person 'Mr Janssen', while acting as neighbours, children, community centre volunteers and social workers.

Whilst insight into the elements that play a role in older adults' experiences of place offers the potential to valorise knowledge, some ethical considerations and dilemmas that arose in the research project also need to be considered. These issues concern the researcher-respondent relationship and how to minimise the potential to cause harm. In trying to make the respondents feel comfortable, I tried to establish an atmosphere that was similar to a friendly conversation in which they would hopefully feel free to express themselves in everyday language and to address topics that were not included in the interview guide. The majority of respondents were pleasantly surprised about the informal character of the interview as they had not expected to be able to 'just talk' about their everyday lives. However, my friendly visits also raised expectations of future visits as respondents indicated that I could always drop by for a coffee if I should happen to be in the neighbourhood, thereby hoping to "extend the relationship beyond the boundaries of 'researcher-respondent'" (Negrini, 2015, p. 76). One of the respondents even bought me a bunch of flowers during a walking interview as she was so happy about me visiting her and showing interest in her stories. As promised, after the interviews, I sent the participants a letter in which I informed them about the results. Further, I sent each of them a Christmas card to thank them for their participation in my project. As I did not have time to visit the respondents again, the question remains as to what extent the letter and Christmas card were appreciated rather than causing disappointment because I had not visited them again. Another ethical concern relates to the potential risks involved for the respondents in conducting the walking interviews. To minimise the risk of injuries or fatigue, respondents were asked to set the route and duration of the walk, and interviews

were rescheduled in the event of adverse weather conditions. One of the respondents indicated that he preferred to conduct the interview by bike. I was somewhat hesitant as he had previously indicated that he had balance problems but, as he was insistent on using the bicycle, I decided to respect his choice. However, during the interview, he fell off his bike while pointing at a building. Fortunately, he was not injured but this example raises concerns on how to balance minimising the potential for harm that could occur against respecting respondents' wishes.

Some final reflections on my positionality, and its influence on the knowledge produced in this thesis about the subjective dimensions of ageing in place, are now made. At the start of this research project, my assumptions about older adults were to a large extent informed by ageist stereotyping. For instance, as addressed in Chapter 5, I thought that older people would have all the time in the world for my interviews, simply because they had retired. Further, until the start of the research project, my interactions with older people were limited to contacts with my grandparents. However, the intergenerational research encounters highlighted my misconceptions about older adults. Talking with older people as a researcher rather than a grandchild, changed my outlook on later life as I realised that older people are not solely defined by their role as grandparents. The intergenerational research encounters also had a significant impact on how relational thinking informed the analysis of the interview data as it made me aware of how I and others like me are involved in the creation of older adults' experiences. For instance, when respondents expressed the desire for lively streets, in which they could occasionally greet someone, I realised that I was an element in them experiencing a lack of liveliness: as a younger working person, I spend most of my time at work and in places outside my neighbourhood. As such, the intergenerational research encounters proved to be a means for reconceptualising older adults' engagement with place in a relational manner.

6.5 Future research directions

In the introduction of this thesis, it was noted that "the reality [of ageing in place] is not straightforward" (Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 2008, p. 219). Indeed, the findings presented in this thesis indicate that ageing in place is far from straightforward and rather complex given the many factors that co-create older adults' experiences. This should not be seen as an end to examining the elements through which older adults' experiences come into being, but as a step towards more nuanced perspectives of ageing in place in both research and policy. I believe that viewing ageing in place from a relational standpoint opens up many new research avenues for bringing about such perspectives. In this section, the focus lies on three themes through which ageing in place could be further conceptualised in a relational vein. These are the intersections of the life-worlds of the young and the old, the local social capital of different groups of older people and the

changing landscape of ageing in place.

First, it would be fruitful to consider how older adults' feelings of belonging and exclusion come into being in relation to the ways in which the life-worlds of young and old intersect in a neighbourhood space. The results in this thesis suggest that older adults' feelings of 'otherness' and of 'being old' come into being, at least in part, through the contrast between theirs and the younger residents' daily rhythms and mobilities (see Chapters 3 and 5 in particular). To examine further how older adults' subjectivities are constructed in relation to younger generations, it would be beneficial, as indeed was also recently argued by Murray (2015), to view older people's mobility experiences from an intergenerational perspective. In exploring how the life-worlds of young and old intersect, the daily rhythms of younger and older residents could be mapped by observing their routines, and where these intersect, in the public neighbourhood spaces (see Nio et al., 2009). Such information could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the social, physical and temporal obstacles to, and opportunities for, meaningful intergenerational encounters in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the intersections of the life-worlds of the young and the old could be better understood through exploring the role of portable communication and audio devices in shaping experiences of belonging and exclusion. During the interviews, some respondents indicated that the fact that many younger people wore headphones made them less inclined to chat. For instance, when Lenie (female, 75-80) was talking about her weekly train journey, she noted: "you feel lonely, there's no one who is saying a word because they all have a laptop and headphones or they are busy with their phone". When people are 'tuned-out' from their immediate social environment through such portable devices, the value of their 'eyes upon the street', which Jane Jacobs (1961) deemed so important for social control (see Chapter 3), may weaken. In a somewhat similar vein, in the context of the neighbourhood, the use of noisy machines in the maintenance of public green areas, such as leaf blowers and lawnmowers, excludes the possibility of an occasional chat. In researching the ways in which social distancing processes, as experienced by older adults, are influenced by portable devices, inspiration could be drawn from work that seeks to understand how everyday technologies shape experiences of place and people's connection to others (e.g. Bull, 2000).

Second, the geographical account of older adults' social capital provided in this thesis could form a useful starting point for examining how the experiences of neighbourhood social interactions are shaped for various groups of older people. The perspectives on ageing in place offered in this thesis are based on interviews with older adults who were not suffering from mental health impairments and were able to give their informed consent for participating in the research. It was beyond the scope of this study to explore the experiences of everyday life of older adults with, for example, de-

mentia. With regard to the process of deinstitutionalisation and care in the community, it would be particularly interesting to examine the meanings and experiences of local social capital for 'vulnerable' older adults. Here, inspiration could be drawn from, for instance, Bredewold's (2014) work on the meaning of reciprocity in the relationships between people with an intellectual or psychiatric disability and other neighbourhood residents. Her research shows that these relationships can lead to the exploitation of people with intellectual and psychiatric disabilities, and can also negatively impact on the wellbeing of other neighbourhood residents when the people they support do not express their gratitude. Further, the ways in which local social capital develops for different cultural groups of older people requires more attention. What kinds of obstacles to, and opportunities for, meaningful local social interactions do such groups experience; and in what kinds of places does their social capital develop? My work on the everyday geographies of older Antillean migrants living in a senior co-housing community in the Netherlands (see Lager et al., 2012; Meijering and Lager, 2014) offers some suggestions for exploring these issues and also highlights the role that intentional communities can play in building social capital in a neighbourhood.

Finally, another fruitful extension of this study would be to consider older adults' feelings of belonging and exclusion in light of some of the recent changes in the landscape of ageing in place. During the period of this research project, and still today, care homes have been closed down and demolished in the Netherlands as a consequence of extramuralisation (deinstitutionalisation). This has led both to forced relocations of older people from a care home to a home in a neighbourhood and to those who are ageing in place losing a local facility (since most care homes include a range of small shops, such as a supermarket and hairdresser) and meeting place (ActiZ, 2014). The majority of my respondents visited their local care home for voluntary work, to have a coffee or a meal in the care home's restaurant or attend a social activity. Some expressed the desire to move into a care home when their health deteriorated and/or their spouse died in order to "experience sociability" (Geertruida, female, 80-85) in their immediate proximity, but were aware that the chances of getting into a care home were nowadays slim. Thus, the closure of care homes can contribute to ageing in place becoming a lonely experience. Further, it may become harder for volunteers and neighbourhood residents to identify whether an older person is in need of support as the care home, as a place of encounter for neighbourhood residents, is disappearing. Besides the effects of these changing spatialities on ageing in place, I believe that the discontinuities in personnel in care sectors and social welfare provision should be given more attention in exploring older adults' experiences of everyday life in their neighbourhood. The growth of precarious employment systems seems to threaten continuity in service relationships which, as indicated in Chapter 4, can play an important role in older adults' wellbeing (see also Gardner,

2011; Negrini, 2015). Most of the respondents who had received household help had witnessed a rapid turnover of domestic workers, with many moving on in less than a year. This was regretted by some respondents, as they had to repeatedly build new relationships. Whilst these discontinuities may negatively impact on older adults' wellbeing, one should also consider the role of newly emerging local support and care structures in the construction of feelings of belonging and exclusion. The ways in which online care platforms such as the Dutch online care network WeHelpen [we help], initiated by health insurance companies and housing corporations among others to stimulate informal care and neighbourliness, co-construct older adults' experiences of everyday neighbourhood life warrant attention in exploring the changing landscape of ageing in place.

To conclude, viewing ageing in place from a relational perspective highlights the significance of the ways in which self, others, place and time are entwined in co-creating older adults' experiences. As ageing in place occurs in place- and time- specific contexts, and will always be somewhat fluid due to changing public perceptions and policies, these four organising principles of everyday life will remain relevant for understanding older adults' place in society for generations to come. Moreover, such an appreciation of older adults' experiences points to society having an ethical and political responsibility for promoting the wellbeing of older citizens. More than devising age-friendly policies, this responsibility has to be enacted in the ways in which we all behave in our everyday places and interactions. It is in everyday life that we contribute to each other's wellbeing, be it through a greeting or an occasional chat while walking on our neighbourhood's streets.

References

ActiZ, 2014. Rapport sluiting verzorgingsverhuizen [Report closure of care homes]. ActiZ, organisatie van zorgondernemers, Utrecht.

Andrews, G.J., Hall, E., Evans, B., Colls, R., 2012. Moving beyond walkability: On the potential of health geography. Social science & medicine 75 (11), 1925-1932.

Bredewold, F., 2014. Lof der oppervlakkigheid. Contact tussen mensen met een verstandelijke of psychiatrische beperking en buurtbewoners [Praise of superficiality. Contact between people with an intellectual or psychiatric disability and neighbourhood residents]. PhD thesis, Van Gennep, Amsterdam.

Buffel, T., Phillipson, C., Scharf, T., 2012. Ageing in urban environments : Developing 'age-friendly' cities. Critical Social Policy 32 (4), 597-617.

Bull, M., 2000. Sounding out the City: Personal Stereos and the Management of Everyday Life. Bloomsbury Academic, Oxford.

Davies, A., James, A., 2011. Geographies of Ageing. Social Processes and the Spatial Unevenness of Population Ageing. Ashgate, Farnham.

Day, R., 2010. Environmental justice and older age: consideration of a qualitative neighbourhood-based study. Environment and Planning A 42 (11), 2658-2673.

Duff, C., 2010. On the role of affect and practice in the production of place. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 28 (5), 881-895.

Edensor, T., Holloway, J., 2008. Rhythmanalysing the coach tour: the Ring of Kerry, Ireland. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 33 (4), 483-501.

Elwood, S.A., Martin, D.G., 2000. "Placing" Interviews: Location and Scales of Power in Qualitative Research. The Professional Geographer 52 (4), 649-657.

Eyles, J., 1989. The Geography of Everyday Life. In: Gregory, D., Walford, R. (Eds.) Horizons in Human Geography. Macmillan Education Ltd, London, pp. 102-117.

Gardner, P.J., 2011. Natural neighborhood networks — Important social networks in the lives of older adults aging in place. Journal of Aging Studies 25 (3), 263-271.

Gilroy, R., 2008. Places that Support Human Flourishing: Lessons from Later Life. Planning Theory & Practice 9 (2), 145-163.

Gray, A., 2009. The social capital of older people. Ageing & Society 29 (1), 5-31.

Hardill, I., Baines, S., 2009. Active Citizenship in Later Life: Older Volunteers in a Deprived Community in England. The Professional Geographer 61 (1), 36-45.

Hockey, A., Phillips, J., Walford, N., 2013. Planning for an Ageing Society: Voices from the Planning Profession. Planning Practice & Research 28 (5), 527-543.

Hutabarat Lo, R., 2009. Walkability: what is it?. Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability 2 (2), 145-166.

Jacobs, J., 1961. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. Vintage, Westminster, MD, USA.

Lager, D., Van Hoven, B., Meijering, L., 2012. Places that matter: place attachment and wellbeing of older Antillean migrants in the Netherlands. European Spatial Research and Policy 19 (1), 81-94.

Law, J., 1999. After ANT: complexity, naming and topology. In: Law, J., Hassard, J. (Eds.) Actor Network Theory and after. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 1-14.

Lawton, M.P., Nahemow, L., 1973. Ecology and the Aging Process. In: Eisdorfer, C., Lawton, M.P. (Eds.) The Psychology of Adult Development and Aging. American Psychological Association, Washington D.C., pp. 619-674.

Lawton, M.P., 1977. An Ecological Theory of Aging Applied to Elderly Housing. Environments and Aging 31 (1), 8-10.

Lefebvre, H., 2004. Rhythmanalysis. Space, Time and Everyday Life. Continuum, London.

Meijering, L., Lager, D., 2014. Home-making of older Antillean migrants in the Netherlands. Ageing & Society 34 (5), 859-875.

Milligan, C., 2009. There's No Place Like Home: Place and Care in an Ageing Society. Ashgate, Farnham.

Milligan, C., Bingley, A., Gatrell, A., 2005. 'Healing and Feeling': The Place of Emotions in Later Life. In: Davidson, J., Bondi, L., Smith, M. (Eds.) Emotional Geographies. Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 49-62.

Murray, L., 2015. Age-friendly mobilities: A transdisciplinary and intergenerational perspective. Journal of Transport & Health. DOI: 10.1016/j.jth.2015.02.004

Naughton, L., 2013. Geographical narratives of social capital: Telling different stories about the socio-economy with context, space, place, power and agency. Progress in Human Geography, 1-19. DOI: 10.1177/0309132513488731

Negrini, C., 2015. Ageing in the city: geographies of social interactions and everyday life. PhD Thesis, Kingston University, London.

Nio, I., Reijndorp, A., Veldhuis, W., 2009. Atlas Westelijke Tuinsteden Amsterdam. De geplande en de geleefde stad. SUN - Trancity, Amsterdam.

Peace, S., Holland, C., Kellaher, L., 2011. 'Option recognition' in later life: variations in ageing in place. Ageing & Society 31 (05), 734-757.

Portes, A., 1998. SOCIAL CAPITAL: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. Annual Review of Sociology 24, 1-24.

Reijndorp, A., 2007. Andere kijk op ouder worden [Different view on ageing]. In: Aedes-Actiz Kenniscentrum Wonen-Zorg (Ed.) Innovatie in wonen en zorg [Innovation in housing and care].

Rowles, G.D., 1983. Place and personal identity in old age: Observations from Appalachia. Journal of Environmental Psychology 3 (4), 299-313.

Rowles, G.D., 1978. Prisoners of Space? Exploring the Geographical Experience of Older People. Westview Press, Colorado.

Rowles, G.D., Watkins, J.F., 2003. History, Habit, Heart and Hearth: On Making Spaces into Places. In: Warner Schaie, K., Wahl, H.-., Mollenkopf, H., Oswald, F. (Eds.) Aging Independently. Living Arrangements and Mobility. Springer Publishing Company, New York, pp. 77-96.

Schwanen, T., Hardill, I., Lucas, S., 2012. Spatialities of ageing: The co-construction and co-evolution of old age and space. Geoforum 43 (6), 1291-1295.

Sixsmith, A., Sixsmith, J., 2008. Ageing in Place in the United Kingdom. Ageing International 32 (3), 219-235.

Skinner, M.W., Cloutier, D., Andrews, G.J., 2014. Geographies of ageing: Progress and possibilities after two decades of change. Progress in Human Geography. DOI:10.1177/0309132514558444

Smith, A.E., 2009. Ageing in Urban Neighbourhoods. Place attachment and social exclusion. The Policy Press, Bristol.

Spinney, J., 2014. Close encounters? Mobile methods, (post)phenomenology and affect. Cultural Geographies. DOI: 10.1177/1474474014558988

Van der Meer, M., Droogleever Fortuijn, J., Thissen, F., 2008. Vulnerability and environmental stress of older adults in deprived neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie 99 (1), 53-64.

Van Hoven, B., 2011. Multi-sensory tourism in the Great Bear Rainforest. Landabréfrid 25, 31-49.

Wiles, J.L., Leibing, A., Guberman, N., Reeve, J., Allen, R.E.S., 2012. The Meaning of "Aging in Place" to Older People. The Gerontologist 52 (3), 357-366.

Ziegler, F., 2012. "You have to engage with life, or life will go away": An intersectional life course analysis of older women's social participation in a disadvantaged urban area. Geoforum 43 (6), 1296-1305.

Samenvatting

Perspectieven op langer zelfstandig wonen.

Ervaringen van ouderen met het dagelijks leven in stadswijken.

Introductie

Veel westerse regeringen voeren een beleid dat langer zelfstandig wonen stimuleert. Dit houdt in dat ouderen zo lang mogelijk in hun eigen woning en wijk blijven wonen om de verhuizing naar een intramurale instelling uit te stellen en hiermee op de kosten van deze zorg te besparen. Hierin wordt benadrukt dat langer zelfstandig wonen in het belang van ouderen is, omdat ze op deze manier oud kunnen worden in een vertrouwde en voorspelbare omgeving waarin voorzien wordt in hun sociale, emotionele en praktische behoeften (Davies en James, 2011; Milligan, 2009). Zowel in beleid als onderzoek wordt aangenomen dat ouderen zo lang mogelijk zelfstandig willen wonen; het aantal verhuizingen neemt met de leeftijd af en ouderen zijn minder geneigd te verhuizen dan jongeren (PBL, 2013; Hillcoat-Nallétamby en Ogg, 2014). Onderzoek toont ook aan dat langer zelfstandig wonen het welzijn van ouderen positief beïnvloedt, omdat het bijdraagt aan het behoud van een gevoel van zelfredzaamheid, eigenwaarde en sociale inbedding in de omgeving en aan het behoud van de emotionele gehechtheid aan de woning en de buurt (e.g. Cutchin, 2003; Wiles et al., 2012). Er zijn echter verschillende factoren, zoals bezuinigingsmaatregelen op thuiszorg en het gebrek aan tijd van jongere werkende mensen in het ondersteunen van ouderen, die er op wijzen dat de realiteit van het langer zelfstandig wonen niet zo eenduidig is als beleid en onderzoek aannemen. Door de ervaringen van ouderen met het dagelijks leven in stadswijken centraal te stellen beoogt dit proefschrift een kritische blik te werpen op langer zelfstandig wonen.

Het doel van dit proefschrift is inzicht krijgen in de elementen die een rol spelen in de subjectieve dimensie van het langer zelfstandig wonen. De focus ligt op de wijze waarop ouderen het dagelijks leven in hun wijk ervaren. In beleid over langer zelfstandig wonen en in sociaalwetenschappelijk onderzoek wordt de sociale en fysieke infrastructuur van de wijk van groot belang geacht voor het welzijn van ouderen. Om inzicht te krijgen in hoe ouderen hun dagelijks leven in de wijk ervaren en herinneren, zijn semigestructureerde diepte-interviews en wandelinterviews afgenomen met ouderen in drie wijken in de stad Groningen. Omdat ouderen in hun dagelijks leven ook vaak lopend onderweg zijn, zijn wandelinterviews bijzonder geschikt om ervaringen in en het gebruik van een wijk te verkennen. Voor dit onderzoek zijn mensen in de pensioengerechtigde leeftijd geselecteerd. Er is een relationele benadering gebruikt om de interviews te interpreteren. Een relationele benadering gaat er vanuit dat ervaringen tot stand komen in de complexe en dynamische wisselwerkingen tussen het individu, anderen, plaats en tijd

(Schwanen et al., 2012).

Om inzicht te krijgen in de subjectieve dimensie van het langer zelfstandig wonen, worden in dit proefschrift verschillende thema's belicht. Dit zijn: de discontinuïteiten van het langer zelfstandig wonen bekeken vanuit wijkvernieuwing (hoofdstuk 2), betekenissen van lokale sociale contacten (hoofdstuk 3), alledaagse praktijken (hoofdstuk 2 en 4) en de dagelijkse ritmes van langer zelfstandig wonen (hoofdstuk 5). De verschillende hoofdstukken kaarten ook kwesties aan buiten de academische context, die relevant kunnen zijn voor beleidsmakers in het vormgeven van langer-zelfstandig-wonen-beleid op het gebied van wijkvernieuwing, buurtzorg, mobiliteit en sociale integratie. De bevindingen van dit proefschrift zijn onderverdeeld in twee categorieën, een waarin langer zelfstandig wonen vanuit relationeel perspectief wordt bekeken en een waarin de ervaringen van ouderen met het dagelijks leven in de wijk wordt beschouwd in de context van beleidsaannames.

Langer zelfstandig wonen: een relationeel perspectief

De elementen die een rol spelen in de subjectieve dimensie van langer zelfstandig wonen zijn in kaart gebracht aan de hand van de verschillende thema's in dit proefschrift. Om het overzichtelijk te maken zijn deze elementen hier gegroepeerd in de vier organiserende categorieën van het dagelijks leven (individu, anderen, plaats en tijd). De wisselwerkingen tussen deze elementen worden per thema besproken.

Individu	De verbintenis van ouderen met de wijk gedurende hun levensloop
Anderen	Jongere en oudere wijkbewoners
Plaats	Het ontwerp van de wijk
	Componenten van de bebouwde omgeving
Tijd	De ritmes van het ouder worden in de wijk
	De ervaren tijd

Centraal in hoofdstuk 2 staat de vraag hoe ouderen wijkvernieuwing ervaren en ermee omgaan in hun dagelijks leven. Hiertoe zijn interviews met dertien ouderen uit de Oosterparkwijk in Groningen geanalyseerd. De Oosterparkwijk is een voormalige volksbuurt waar ten tijde van de dataverzameling voor dit proefschrift wijkvernieuwing plaatsvond. Eerder onderzoek suggereert dat ouderen, die vaak al lange tijd in de wijk wonen, moeite kunnen hebben om zich aan te passen aan de veranderende omgeving en dat nieuw ontstane normen en praktijken het gevoel kunnen geven dat ze er niet bij horen (Milligan et al., 2005; Rowles en Watkins, 2003). De bevindingen in dit proefschrift wijzen er echter op dat ouderen actief hun routines voortzetten op verschillende plekken en in interacties in de wijk, waardoor ze een vertrouwd gevoel met de omgeving kunnen behouden.

Zowel de lange woonduur in de wijk als de tijd die ze in hun dagelijks leven in de wijk door hebben gebracht blijken voor de respondenten invloed te hebben op het omgaan met veranderingen.

In hoofdstuk 3 staat het concept 'sociaal kapitaal' centraal, om de betekenissen van en de obstakels en mogelijkheden voor lokale sociale contacten in de wijk te bekijken. Sociaal kapitaal staat voor de mogelijkheid van individuen en groepen om te profiteren van sociale netwerken (Portes, 1998). Voor minder mobiele personen, zoals ouderen, wordt lokaal sociaal kapitaal van groot belang geacht voor sociale en praktische ondersteuning die bijdraagt aan hun gezondheid en welzijn (Gray, 2009). Literatuur over de relatie tussen sociaal kapitaal en de gezondheid en het welzijn van ouderen maakt voornamelijk gebruik van een kwantitatieve benadering, die geen rekening houdt met het plaats-specifieke en relationele karakter van lokale sociale contacten. Dit proefschrift toont aan dat de wijk geen isotroop oppervlak is waar mogelijkheden voor sociaal kapitaal gelijk verdeeld zijn. De voordelen die lokale sociale contacten kunnen bieden zijn afhankelijk van de manier waarop het ontwerp van een wijk ontmoetingen mogelijk maakt, de specifieke plek waar ontmoetingen plaatsvinden en de verwachtingen over deze ontmoetingen. In de verwachte baten van lokale sociale contacten blijken vooral jongere buren en oudere wijkbewoners een belangrijke rol te spelen. Voor sommige respondenten lijkt de internalisering van het heersende ideaal van actief oud worden een belemmering te vormen om hulp te vragen aan jongere buren, omdat ze denken dat ze er niet hulpbehoevend genoeg uitzien. In de omgang met andere ouderen lijkt het ideaal van actief oud worden het aangaan van betekenisvolle contacten te belemmeren, omdat deze mensen volgens sommige respondenten voornamelijk 'oudemensenonderwerpen' bespreken, zoals een achteruitgaande gezondheid en medicijngebruik.

De betekenistoekenning aan plaatsen ('place-making') komt deels tot stand door alledaagse praktijken. In hoofdstuk 2 en 4 worden de alledaagse praktijken van het langer zelfstandig wonen besproken. In onderzoeken naar de relatie tussen ouderen en hun leefomgeving zijn twee verschillende tradities over place-making te onderscheiden. In de ene traditie wordt deze relatie voornamelijk functioneel beschreven (met andere woorden: de manier waarop een bepaalde plaats dagelijkse activiteiten mogelijk maakt) (zie Lawton en Nahemow, 1973; Lawton, 1977) terwijl in de andere traditie de affectieve verbondenheid met een plaats centraal staat (zie Rowles, 1978; Rowles, 1983). In dit proefschrift wordt aangetoond dat place-making in de wijk zowel functioneel als affectief van aard is. Een voorbeeld hiervan is hoe de informele ondersteunings- en zorgpraktijken van respondenten een middel zijn om een gemeenschapsgevoel in een veranderende wijk te behouden (het affectieve component) en om sociale en praktische ondersteuning te bieden aan andere oudere buurtgenoten (het functionele component).

In hoofdstuk 4 staat het te voet verplaatsen in de wijk centraal, om via deze

dagelijkse praktijk inzicht te krijgen in place-making van ouderen. Hiervoor zijn wandelinterviews met respondenten in de Oosterparkwijk en de wijk Corpus den Hoorn afgenomen. De bevindingen tonen dat place-making tijdens het lopen in de wijk duidelijk wordt in de keuze voor bepaalde routes. De keuze voor deze routes is afhankelijk van de verbondenheid van de respondenten met de wijk. Het verschil in bindingen met de wijk stuurt hen letterlijk verschillende kanten op. Voor wie de wijk altijd een belangrijke ervaringscontext was, worden routes voornamelijk ingegeven door de behoefte om herinneringen aan het vroegere buurtleven op te halen. De routes van de respondenten van wie het sociale leven zich voornamelijk buiten de wijk afspeelde voordat hun mobiliteit afnam, ontstaan vanuit de behoefte gezelligheid in de directe omgeving te ervaren. Over het algemeen roept de praktijk van het lopen zelf ook gevoelens van 'anders zijn' op. Componenten van de bebouwde omgeving creëren het gevoel dat de jongere en meer mobiele mensen, die betrokken zijn bij het ontwerp en de planning van de wijk, zich niet bewust lijken te zijn van de dagelijkse routes en de fysieke mogelijkheden van oudere wijkbewoners.

Waar in de hoofdstukken 2, 3 en 4 de nadruk ligt op de wisselwerkingen tussen het individu, anderen en plaats enerzijds en de invloed hiervan op de ervaringen van ouderen anderzijds, wordt in hoofdstuk 5 het onderdeel 'tijd' verder uitgediept. Hiervoor wordt al een aanzet gegeven in hoofdstuk 3, dat aantoont dat de verschillende tijdgeografieën van oudere en jongere bewoners een belemmering vormen voor het ontwikkelen van lokaal sociaal kapitaal. In hoofdstuk 5 worden deze dagelijkse ritmes van het langer zelfstandig wonen verder verkend. Lefebvres Rhythmanalysis (2004) dient als uitgangspunt voor het analyseren van de betekenis van deze dagelijkse ritmes van de respondenten. De bevindingen tonen dat contrasterende tijd-geografieën van oudere en jongere wijkbewoners de tragere ritmes van ouderen benadrukken. De ritmes van jonge mensen en van de respondenten toen zij jong waren, worden meer gewaardeerd dan de tragere ritmes van ouderen. Om negatieve associaties met deze tragere ritmes tegen te gaan, zoeken de respondenten manieren om hun tijd als enerverend te ervaren, wat als positief wordt gezien. Deze bevindingen suggereren dat het enerverend ervaren van tijd (met andere woorden: het druk hebben) voortkomt uit het ideaal van actief oud worden, waarin impliciet verwezen wordt naar de jongere, meer mobiele en werkende populatie die over het algemeen in een hoger tempo leeft.

Tot nu toe is de relationele benadering in geografische onderzoeken over ouderen nog niet erg zichtbaar, ondanks het feit dat deze grote potentie heeft in het conceptualiseren van de relatie tussen ouderen en plekken (Skinner et al., 2014, p. 12). Door in relationele termen te denken toont dit proefschrift de interactie en dynamiek van de elementen die een rol spelen in de subjectieve dimensie van het langer zelfstandig wonen. De waarde van de relationele benadering ligt echter niet alleen in het in kaart brengen

van de connecties tussen deze elementen, maar ook en des te meer in het belang van deze specifieke connecties voor de manier waarop gevoelens van verbondenheid, uitsluiting en welzijn tot stand komen in de context van een wijk.

Langer zelfstandig wonen: aannames en realiteiten

In dit proefschrift worden de ervaringen van ouderen met het dagelijks leven in de wijk bekeken in de context van beleidsaannames over langer zelfstandig wonen.

In hoofdstuk 2 wordt beargumenteerd dat langer-zelfstandig-wonen-beleid een vrij statische kijk heeft op de leefomgeving, omdat er geen rekening gehouden wordt met de discontinuïteiten van een wijk. Sociale en fysieke transformaties kunnen een wijk omvormen tot minder bekend gebied. Nederland kent vele wijken die aan stedelijke vernieuwing onderhevig zijn en daarom is het belangrijk om te onderzoeken wat dergelijke veranderingen in de leefomgeving voor ouderen betekenen. Het onderzoek in de Oosterparkwijk toont aan dat het veranderende karakter van de wijk een nostalgisch verlangen naar het vroegere buurtleven creëert. Desalniettemin zijn respondenten ook in staat om een gemeenschapsgevoel te behouden door hun vertrouwde manier van contact voort te zetten. Echter, in tegenstelling tot het intergenerationele karakter van het vroegere buurtleven, beperken de huidige contacten van respondenten zich voornamelijk tot die met oudere buurtgenoten. Ondanks het feit dat men dus wel een vertrouwd gevoel kan houden als een wijk sterk verandert, kan het ontbreken van intergenerationele contacten buurtzorg ondermijnen.

De uitdagingen omtrent buurtzorg worden verder behandeld in hoofdstuk 3. Hierin wordt stilgestaan bij de Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning (Wmo), waarin aangenomen wordt dat een buurt in sociaal opzicht ondersteuning biedt aan oudere en kwetsbare bewoners (Van der Meer et al., 2008). Er komen in dit hoofdstuk echter meer obstakels dan mogelijkheden voor het ontwikkelen en onderhouden van betekenisvolle lokale sociale contacten naar voren. Vertrouwensrelaties tussen ouderen en jongere buurtgenoten blijken moeilijk tot stand te komen, deels vanwege de verschillende tijdgeografieën van deze twee groepen, maar ook door de belemmeringen die de respondenten ervaren om ondersteuning te vragen. Contacten met andere ouderen blijken ook niet per se goed te zijn om sociaal kapitaal te ontwikkelen, alhoewel het contact met oudere buren wel positief wordt gewaardeerd vanwege het nabuurschap. De bevindingen in dit hoofdstuk tonen aan dat de realiteit van buurtzorg complexer is dan langer-zelfstandig-wonen-beleid suggereert.

Langer-zelfstandig-wonen-beleid levert uitdagingen op voor de ruimtelijke ordening in het (her)ontwerpen van wijken om de zelfredzaamheid van ouderen te faciliteren. Hieronder valt onder meer het bevorderen van de zelfstandige mobiliteit van ouderen door de openbare ruimte beter 'bewandelbaar' te maken. Om de subjectieve

dimensie van het gebruik van een wijk te belichten, zijn in hoofdstuk 4 de ervaringen en gevoelens tijdens het lopen door de wijk onderzocht. Onderzoekers en beleidsmakers erkennen dat wandelen bijdraagt aan een actieve en gezonde leefstijl voor ouderen. De bevindingen in dit hoofdstuk tonen echter aan dat de redenen om te gaan lopen en de routes die men neemt ook ingegeven worden door een behoefte aan gezelligheid of het herbeleven van herinneringen aan de wijk. Dit wijst er op dat de bewandelbaarheid van een wijk niet alleen bekeken moet worden vanuit fysiologische behoeften, zoals uitrusten, maar ook vanuit de betekenis die mensen aan hun omgeving geven.

De sociale integratie van ouderen in de samenleving vormt een belangrijk onderdeel van langer-zelfstandig-wonen-beleid. In de praktijk komt dit voornamelijk tot uiting in het doorvoeren van verbeteringen in de bebouwde omgeving en door middel van maatschappelijk werk (Gilroy, 2008). In hoofdstuk 5 komt naar voren dat sociale integratie een temporele dimensie heeft. Respondenten ervaren de temporele segregatie van oud en jong in de wijk als een generatiekloof. Het hogere tempo van leven van jongere bewoners en hun grotere mobiliteit benadrukken in negatieve zin dat de respondenten 'oud' en minder actief en mobiel zijn. Ofschoon langer-zelfstandig-wonen-beleid de fysieke nabijheid tussen verschillende leeftijdsgroepen vergroot, kan de temporele segregatie een belemmering vormen in de sociale integratie van ouderen, omdat het een gevoel van 'anders-zijn' teweegbrengt.

Ten slotte

Met dit onderzoek wordt een stap gezet naar een genuanceerdere kijk op langer zelfstandig wonen in beleid en onderzoek. Langer zelfstandig wonen vanuit een relationeel perspectief bekijken biedt veel mogelijkheden om een dergelijke kijk tot stand te brengen. Daarbij verdienen enkele thema's verdere aandacht in vervolgonderzoek, zoals de raakvlakken tussen de leefwerelden van oud en jong, de totstandkoming van lokaal sociaal kapitaal van verschillende groepen ouderen en het veranderende landschap van langer zelfstandig wonen. Omdat langer zelfstandig wonen een plaats- en tijdgebonden fenomeen is en door veranderende percepties over ouderen altijd aan verandering onderhevig zal zijn, is het belangrijk om de vier organiserende principes van het dagelijks leven te blijven gebruiken om de plaats die toekomstige generaties ouderen innemen in de maatschappij te begrijpen. Een dergelijke beschouwing van de ervaringen van ouderen wijst er ook op dat een samenleving een ethische en politieke verantwoordelijkheid heeft in het bevorderen van het welzijn van oudere burgers. Deze verantwoordelijkheid ligt niet alleen in het implementeren van leeftijd-vriendelijk beleid maar ook in de manier waarop we ons gedragen in onze dagelijkse omgeving en interacties. Juist in het dagelijks leven dragen we bij aan elkaars welzijn, door elkaar te groeten of door een praatje tijdens een wandeling door de wijk.

Bibliografie

Cutchin, M.P., 2003. The process of mediated aging-in-place: a theoretically and empirically based model. Social science & medicine 57 (6), 1077-1090.

Davies, A., James, A., 2011. Geographies of Ageing. Social Processes and the Spatial Unevenness of Population Ageing. Ashgate, Farnham.

Gilroy, R., 2008. Places that Support Human Flourishing: Lessons from Later Life. Planning Theory & Practice 9 (2), 145-163.

Gray, A., 2009. The social capital of older people. Ageing & Society 29 (1), 5-31.

Hillcoat-Nallétamby, S., Ogg, J., 2014. Moving beyond 'ageing in place': older people's dislikes about their home and neighbourhood environments as a motive for wishing to move. Ageing & Society 34 (10), 1771-1796.

Lawton, M.P., Nahemow, L., 1973. Ecology and the Aging Process. In: Eisdorfer, C., Lawton, M.P. (Red.) The Psychology of Adult Development and Aging. American Psychological Association, Washington D.C., pp. 619-674.

Lawton, M.P., 1977. An Ecological Theory of Aging Applied to Elderly Housing. Environments and Aging 31 (1), 8-10.

Lefebvre, H., 2004. Rhythmanalysis. Space, Time and Everyday Life. Continuum, Londen.

Milligan, C., Bingley, A., Gatrell, A., 2005. 'Healing and Feeling': The Place of Emotions in Later Life. In: Davidson, J., Bondi, L., Smith, M. (Red.) Emotional Geographies. Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 49-62.

Milligan, C., 2009. There's No Place Like Home: Place and Care in an Ageing Society. Ashgate, Farnham.

PBL, 2013. Vergrijzing en ruimte. Gevolgen voor de woningmarkt, vrijetijdsbesteding. mobiliteit en regionale economie. Planbureau voor de leefomgeving, Den Haag.

Portes, A., 1998. SOCIAL CAPITAL: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. Annual Review of Sociology 24, 1-24.

Rowles, G.D., 1983. Place and personal identity in old age: Observations from Appalachia. Journal of Environmental Psychology 3 (4), 299-313.

Rowles, G.D., 1978. Prisoners of Space? Exploring the Geographical Experience of Older People. Westview Press, Colorado.

Rowles, G.D., Watkins, J.F., 2003. History, Habit, Heart and Hearth: On Making Spaces into Places. In: Warner Schaie, K., Wahl, H.-., Mollenkopf, H., Oswald, F. (Red.) Aging Independently. Living Arrangements and Mobility. Springer Publishing Company, New York, pp. 77-96.

Schwanen, T., Hardill, I., Lucas, S., 2012. Spatialities of ageing: The co-construction and co-evolution of old age and space. Geoforum 43 (6), 1291-1295.

Skinner, M.W., Cloutier, D., Andrews, G.J., 2014. Geographies of ageing: Progress and possibilities after two decades of change. Progress in Human Geography. DOI:10.1177/0309132514558444

Van der Meer, M., Droogleever Fortuijn, J., Thissen, F., 2008. Vulnerability and environmental stress of older adults in deprived neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie 99 (1), 53-64.

Wiles, J.L., Leibing, A., Guberman, N., Reeve, J., Allen, R.E.S., 2012. The Meaning of "Aging in Place" to Older People. The Gerontologist 52 (3), 357-366.

Opzij, opzij, opzij
maak plaats, maak plaats, maak plaats
we hebben ongelofelijke haast
opzij, opzij, opzij
want wij zijn haast te laat
we hebben maar een paar minuten tijd

we moeten rennen, springen, vliegen, duiken, vallen, opstaan
en weer doorgaan
we kunnen nu niet blijven
we kunnen nu niet langer blijven staan

een andere keer misschien
dan blijven we wel slapen
en kunnen dan misschien als het echt moet
wat over koetjes, voetbal
en de lotto praten
nou dag tot ziens, adieu, het ga je goed

we moeten rennen, springen, vliegen, duiken, vallen, opstaan
en weer doorgaan
we kunnen nu niet blijven
we kunnen nu niet langer blijven staan

een andere keer misschien...

Herman van Veen – Opzij, opzij, opzij

Dankwoord

Dat de reis belangrijker is dan de bestemming blijkt in het geval van het afronden van een promotieonderzoek niet helemaal waar, want wat is het toch fijn om eindelijk klaar te zijn… Zoals jij zei, Paulus: 'Op een gegeven moment wil je alleen nog maar dat het af is!'. Dat heb ik de laatste paar maanden aan den lijve ondervonden. Maar met de bestemming in zicht bleek het des te moeilijker om me te richten op het afronden van mijn proefschrift. Gelukkig is het nu dan écht zover en is het tijd om al die mensen te bedanken die mij de afgelopen drieënhalf jaar begeleid, vergezeld, geïnspireerd en ondersteund hebben op deze turbulente, nooit saaie reis.

Allereerst wil ik me hier richten tot Paulus en Bettina. Naast dat jullie culturele geografie tot in de tenen belichamen, zijn jullie altijd betrokken, enthousiasmerend, relativerend en eerlijk geweest: een beter begeleidingsteam had ik me niet kunnen wensen.

Paulus, je zei dat je me hebt zien groeien gedurende deze periode, wat ik een groot compliment vind. Naast de stappen die ik hier zelf voor ondernomen heb, heb jij hier ook een groot aandeel in gehad. Je wist altijd precies de zaken te duiden die voor mijzelf nog niet helder waren en mij belemmerden in mijn persoonlijke ontwikkeling en daarmee ook in mijn ontwikkeling als onderzoeker. Ook tijdens onze besprekingen wist je altijd precies tot de kern te komen van hetgeen ik nog niet goed onder woorden kon brengen. Bedankt dat je mij hebt geholpen met het letterlijk en figuurlijk creëren van denkruimte.

Bettina, jij en Aleid hadden vertrouwen in mij en jullie hebben me ondersteund in het ontwikkelen van het onderzoeksvoorstel voor dit promotieonderzoek. Ik waardeer het zeer dat je me deelgenoot hebt gemaakt van alle projecten en activiteiten die je hebt opgezet en waar je bij betrokken was. Je ongebreidelde enthousiasme en stroom aan ideeën deden soms mijn hoofd tollen, maar waren en zijn vooral heel erg inspirerend. Je bent ook altijd heel begaan met mijn persoonlijk welzijn en alle etentjes bij jou thuis waren altijd erg gezellig en ontspannen. Je zag altijd mogelijkheden en zette je in om mij verder te helpen in mijn loopbaan, wat heeft geresulteerd in een postdoc-aanstelling voor mij: dat vind ik een hele eer.

Een paar weken nadat ik begonnen was met mijn onderzoek, werd ik door enthousiaste collega's betrokken bij een vrijdagmiddagborrelcommissie. Dit was de start van nog heel veel meer borrels, waar ik vrienden heb gemaakt en heel veel lol heb gehad. Een aantal mensen wil ik hier specifiek noemen: Dorina, Elen, Gerd, Heike, Linden, Marije, Mirjam, Niels, Ori, Richard, Rixt, Sierdjan, Taede en Ward, bedankt voor de gezellige borrels,

etentjes, activiteiten en goede gesprekken. Met een aantal van jullie deel ik ook goede herinneringen aan de foto-avond en het Doldersumweekend, en daar horen Sanne en Liesbeth ook bij. Wat leuk om jullie te leren kennen en er twee nieuwe vriendinnen bij te krijgen. Met plezier denk ik terug aan onze kookclub, het koor dat geen koor was en Sanne, onze relaxte vakantie in Toscane, voor mij zo vlak voor de eindstreep.

Gedurende deze drieënhalf jaar heb ik door de faculteit gereisd, van de eerste naar de tweede, waar ik weer op verschillende kantoren heb gezeten. Het was maar een paar maanden dat ik met jou op kantoor zat, Myriam, maar je verfrissende kijk op het leven en je humor blijven me bij. Nora, met jou zat ik wat langer op kantoor en ik had de eer jouw paranimf te mogen zijn. Altijd kwam je weer met cadeautjes en lactosevrije toetjes voor mij aanzetten. Zo'n lieve en zorgzame kamergenote tref je niet gauw. Koen en Gwenda, ofwel kamer 203, het was een dolle boel. Soms was het een beetje te gezellig en dan kwam het werken er niet helemaal van. Toch hebben we verscheidene maatschappelijke vraagstukken besproken, dan wel op een luchtige en sarcastische manier. Heike, met jou wisselde ik de wacht. Samen zaten we nog even in de eindsprint en jouw doorzettingsvermogen en positiviteit motiveerden mij altijd om door te gaan en het proefschrift af te maken. Op de gang heb ik verder nog een aantal inspirerende mensen leren kennen, waaronder Frans en natuurlijk mijn gedreven, geopinieerde en wars van conventies CG-collega's.

Wie ik ook niet genoeg kan bedanken zijn de deelnemers aan mijn onderzoek. Zonder hen had dit onderzoek niet plaats kunnen vinden en hadden de perspectieven op het langer zelfstandig wonen die ik in dit proefschrift bied niet vorm kunnen krijgen. Het contact met de deelnemers en het contrast in onze dagelijkse ritmes en tempo van leven die ik daarin ervoer, deden me beseffen dat ik steeds gehaaster door het leven ging. Het opzij, opzij, opzij van Herman van Veen leek mijn motto te zijn geworden, niet geheel in positieve zin. Ik heb deze tekst wel aan het begin van dit dankwoord geplaatst als herinnering aan mezelf om niet weer in deze valkuil te vallen, maar ook omdat het voor mij de huidige tijdgeest weergeeft waarin activiteit en snelheid hoog in het vaandel staan.

Een balans te vinden tussen werk en vrije tijd vond ik lastig, het '3-jaar' zat me constant op de hielen. Het was 'rennen, springen, vliegen, duiken, vallen, opstaan en weer doorgaan' en vooral niet te lang blijven staan. Alhoewel ik niet zoveel tijd en aandacht heb besteed aan mijn vriendinnen als dat ik zou willen, heb ik me wel altijd door hen gesteund gevoeld. Dit geldt ook voor bobba, zaida, Wim, Marijke, pake, beppe en natuurlijk Harry. Harry, ik had altijd wat, maar door jouw zorgzaamheid en nuchterheid ben ik niet bij de pakken neer gaan zitten. En kleine zus niet te vergeten, wat zou ik zonder

jou moeten? Ten slotte: pappa en mamma, jullie hebben er altijd op vertrouwd dat het goed zou komen en hebben mij altijd gesteund, wat ik ook deed. Het is goed gekomen, het proefschrift ligt er, dus pappa, trek je pak maar aan.

Debbie

Groningen, zomer 2015